

A COMPLEAT  
HISTORY  
OF  
IRELAND,

FROM THE  
EARLIEST ACCOUNTS  
TO THE  
PRESENT TIME;

In which is contained a General REVIEW of the  
ANCIENT KINGS, &c.

Embellished with several elegant ENGRAVINGS, and an accurate  
MAP OF IRELAND.

---

By J. H. WINNE, Esq;

AUTHOR of the BRITISH EMPIRE in AMERICA.

---

A NEW EDITION.

---

IN TWO VOLUMES.

---

VOL. II.

---

LONDON:

Printed for W. LANE, No. 13, *Aldgate-High-Street*.

---

M DCC LXXIV.





H

II

land k  
his acc  
as he l  
Londo  
and al  
places  
loudest  
entered  
of the  
health,  
Jam  
the and

---

---

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
I R E L A N D.

---

BOOK THE FOURTH.

**A**FTER the death of queen Elizabeth, the council proclaimed James the Sixth of Scotland king, and sent a message to him to notify his accession to the English throne, which as soon as he had advice of, he prepared to set out for London, in the interim confirming the lord keeper and all the great officers of the crown in their places during pleasure. He was received with the loudest acclamations by the people as soon as he entered England, and was surrounded by crowds of them, who poured forth ejaculations for his health, and the prosperity of his reign.

James, who was proud of being descended from the ancient Scottish kings of Irish race, was not a little proud

## HISTORY OF IRELAND,

proud of that circumstance, which gave him a double claim to the kingdom of Ireland, and indeed rendered the Irish more blameable whenever they opposed his government.

Yet this they began to do virtually, as soon as his succession was notified to them, which Cox attributes to the determination the university of Valladolid sent over of the question, Whether an Irish papist ought to obey or assist a protestant king? And which they are said to have given in the negative. However that be, not to detain the reader with tedious protestations, he must understand that it was not without difficulty that king James was even proclaimed in Ireland;—and notwithstanding the absolute submission of Tyrone, Cork, Waterford, Wexford, Limerick, and many other cities, restored the catholic religion by force. Indeed the behaviour of the first of these was such as might give cause to suspect they meant to set up for themselves; for they refused to proclaim the king, and would not suffer any body else to do so, intercepting his majesty's stores, and committing open hostilities against his servants; slighting both the kindness and menaces of the lord deputy, Montjoy, (whom James had continued in his office) and making as if they would be willing to join in a confederacy to shake off his authority.—In short, their obstinacy at last obliged the lord deputy to enter their city in a hostile manner, and to execute a few of the most seditious among them; which being done, he put sufficient garrisons, both into Cork and Waterford, and forced the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance, and to renounce all foreign dependencies. Then he issued a proclamation of indemnity and oblivion.—After this being made a privy counsellor in England, he left the country, taking with him the earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnel,

nel, both of whom were well received and even highly honoured at the English court.

The latter being created earl of Tyrconnel, Neal Garuffe, his competitor, who had done some services to the English, but was a man of a savage and insolent disposition, was highly offended with the English for the honour done to his adversaries; but whatever he had done for the government, yet it does not seem that at this period they stood much in fear of what he could do against them.

Montjoy being departed to England, Sir Arthur Chichester was sworn lord deputy, who found enough to do to trim the balance between the bigotted Catholics. and their violent opposers.— The credit of the former, however, suffered both in England and Ireland, more from that unaccountable plot of the fifth of November, than from any of the enormities which they had been fairly convicted of in either of those kingdoms.— It is the nature of man to be pleased with any thing astonishing; and things which are astonishingly *dreadful* for that reason seldom fail to have a number of believers. But whether this strange plot were a real one or not, it is certain that some suffered for it in their lives and goods, but infinitely a greater number in their character and reputation.

But there were those who alike deserved to suffer in all these; for notwithstanding the king had published a commission of grace to establish the Irish in the quiet possession of their estates against any claims of the crown &c, yet he was soon after informed that there was a conspiracy on foot between the earls of Tyrone, Tyrconnel, &c. to surprise the castle of Dublin, and destroy the lord deputy.



## HISTORY OF IRELAND.

On this information justice Sibthorp, and baron Elliot were sent over to try the accused, and as indictments were found against them, all that fled were outlawed, James at the same time protesting, as Elizabeth had done before him, that he prosecuted no man merely for religion, but for sedition and rebellious behaviour, and injuries done to his good subjects.

But more mischief was yet in embryo Sir Cahir O'Dogharty, a young gentlemen who had always appeared favourable to the English, began open war by surprising a fort called Culmore, the seat of one captain Hart, whom, together with his wife and children, he got into his power by stratagem, and threatened them all with death, if it were not delivered, which after some dispute was done accordingly; and after that he and his troops took the town and fortress of Derry, and then proceeded to besiege the castle of Lifford.—However, the deputy marching against them found them sufficient employment, and O'Dogharty was slain by a random shot, after having held out five months against the whole English army.

When James heard of these things he was violently incensed against the Irish, and amongst other marks of his displeasure, immediately revived the scheme of undertakers or adventurers, parcelling out the lands forfeited to the crown by such as were executed or outlawed, in the same manner as had been done in Elizabeth's reign, than which perhaps he could not have given them a greater mortification.

The next thing to be thought on was the calling of a parliament in Ireland, which accordingly was done, but not without some difficulty on account of the tenures by which lands were held in that country, and still more on account of the different

H I  
different  
tments

Th  
of wh  
be pr  
While  
Kilda  
the v  
stown  
of At  
vin, I  
hir, I  
nel, a  
archb  
turne  
two h  
absent

But  
Sir T  
mend  
tholic  
merly  
bench  
ders;  
shoul  
swer  
it wa  
speake  
tested

At  
for S  
were  
metho  
never  
first  
comm  
attem  
to kee

different religions and interests both of the constituents and the candidates at the election.

The members, however, were at last returned, of whom an hundred and thirty-five appeared to be protestants, and one hundred and one catholics. While in the house of lords were the earls of Kildare, Ormond, Thomond, and Clanrickard; the viscounts of Buttevant, Fermoy, Gormanstown, Mountgarret, and Tullagh, and the barons of Athenry, Kinsale, Kerry, Slane, Killeen, Delvin, Dunboyn, Houth, Trimletstown, Poer, Cahir, Dunsany, Louth, Upper Offory, Castle Connell, and Inchiquin, besides twenty-five protestant archbishops and bishops; and the members returned to the house of commons were in number two hundred and thirty-two, of whom six were absent.

But when they came to the choice of a speaker, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, the vice treasurer, recommended one Sir John Davis, on which the catholics nominated Sir John Everard, who had formerly, been one of the judges of the king's bench, but was removed by his majesty's orders; then it was likewise moved that the house should be purged of illegal members; but in answer to this last Sir Oliver St. John told them, it was always usual for parliaments to chuse a speaker first, and proceed to the matter of contested elections afterwards.

At length it was proposed that those who were for Sir John Davis should go out, and those who were against him should stay behind, and by this method of trial he appeared to be duly chosen; nevertheless the remaining members after having first pretended that they were the real house of commons, because they remained within doors, attempted putting Everard in the chair, and then to keep him there by force: at last those catholic

lic members separated themselves from the protestant ones, which latter nevertheless being approved of by the lord deputy, opened the sessions without them.

And now both parties, but first the catholics, transmitted complaints of these commotions to the English court. The same disturbances still continued;—even the catholic lords intermeddled in the business of the lower house, and in effect the whole parliament was divided into two opposite bodies, one of which refused even to sit to recognise the king's title, but recognised it in a paper they presented to the deputy, at the same time protesting against any laws that might be passed in their absence, with all which the situation of things obliged him to sit down contented till his majesty's pleasure should be known.

And the catholics resolving that their cause should be fully heard, levied a tax upon the people, in order to bear the expences of certain agents whom they designed to charge with their affairs, in which having succeeded, notwithstanding a proclamation issued against the practice, they sent these their envoys over in triumph to England, where James patiently heard, and candidly enough discussed the matter, which, in order the better to enable him to do, he had sent an order to the lord deputy personally to attend, and to substitute Dr. Thomas Jones, lord chancellor, and Sir Richard Wingfield, marshal, lords justices in his room.

And now the matter being duly weighed, as both parties had desired, by the only personal authority that either could refer it to, James having called the Irish agents before him, on the twenty-first of April gave his solemn determination in council in the following words :

“ My

" My Lords,

" These noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland are called hither this day to hear my conclusion and determination in a cause of great consequence ; which hath depended long in trial. — Thus far it hath had formality ; for it is a formality that kings hold in all processes of importance ; to proceed slowly, to give large hearings, and to use long debate before they give their sentence.

" These gentlemen will not deny but that I have lent them my own ears, and have shewed both patience and a desire to understand their cause at full. It resteth now that we make a good conclusion after so long debate,

" It is a good rule to observe three points in all weighty business : long, and curious debate ; grave, and mature resolution ; and speedy execution. The first is already past ; the second is to be performed this day ; and the last must follow as soon after as conveniently may be.

" I promised to these noblemen and gentlemen of the recusant party of parliament, justice with favour ; let them see whether I have performed my promise. Sure I am, but for performance of that promise, I should not have given such a patient hearing, nor made such a curious search into the causes of their complaints ; neither should I make such a conclusion as I am now likely to make of this business.

" In the search (though I doubted not of the honour and justice of the lord deputy's government) yet I dealt not with him as with my servant, not as with one of the most unreprouable governors that ever was in that kingdom (as some of yourselves have acknowledged him to be to myself) but as with a party ; but after the commissioners had heard all that could be alledged  
against



against him; I found him indeed a faithful servant by their certificate, which was *conclusio in causâ*.

"The gentlemen I sent were such as no exception could be taken against them; some were never there before, some so long since *rerum facies fuit mutata* since they lived in that kingdom.

"It rests in me to set down my conclusion; but before I declare my judgment, I will speak of some things offered by you the recusant half body, which are called parliament-recusants;—I have heard of church-recusants, but not of parliament-recusants;—this difference was never before heard of.

"First, The letter you sent unto me, in the beginning of the parliament, was full of pride and arrogance, wanting much of the respect which subjects owe to their sovereign.

"Now if I should do you justice, I should take you at your word, lay together your offer in your letters, and the articles which our attorney laid open unto you; then shall you see your case.

"For you made offer, That if you failed to prove any one point of that which was contained in your complaint, you would renounce my favour in all; yet have you scarce proved a word true; but on the other side, almost every point hath been proved contrary.

"Of *fourteen* returns whereof you complain, but *two* have proved false, and in the government nothing hath proved faulty, except you would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of Heaven.

"But commonly offenders are most bold to make offers of their innocency, for they (being in a passion) begin in heat and continue in heat; but when they see themselves in the glass of their own vanity, they find their error. And this I have found in my own experience in Scotland, and since my coming hither.

"Now

" Now I will divide my speech into two parts; touching the offences done by you, and your complaints against the state and government

" To the first: An unusual favour was offered you by my deputy; for he sent for you, and advised you to consider what laws were fit to be propounded for that commonwealth, and offered to concur with you. Your answer should have been humble thanks upon your knees; but you neglected that favour, and answered by your agent, in the name of the rest, That you would first be made acquainted with such bills as the deputy and council there had resolved to transmit.

" Before the parliament, there was sent to me by a few men, a letter rash and insolent, That nothing should be pursued in parliament, but you should be acquainted with it; and withal, threatening me with rebellion, in a strange fashion with similitudes unfavoury and unmannerly, and unfit to be presented to any monarch; and after that you did nothing but heap complaint upon complaint till the parliament was sat down.

" The parliament being sat, you went on with a greater contempt; there were in the lower house two bodies and but one head; a greater monster than two heads upon one body. And whereas you should have made an humble and dutiful answer to the commendation which I made of a speaker; you, the recusant party, (being the fewer) when the greater number went out to be numbered, shut the door and thrust one into the chair as a speaker *manu forti*. After this the recusants of both houses depart from the parliament. The like was never heard of in France, Spain, or any other kingdom of Christendom.

" Then came petitions to the deputy, of a body without a head, a headless body; you would be afraid to meet such a body in the streets. A body without a head to speak! Nay, half a body! What a monster were this! A very bugbear! Methinks

Methinks you that would have a visible body head of the church over all the earth, and acknowledge a temporal head under Christ, ye may likewise acknowledge my viceroy or deputy of Ireland.

“Then did the deputy give you warning to come to the parliament, to pass the bill of recognition, but that you put it off with tricks and shifts, which thing I will urge no farther. But why should the lords refuse to come? They had no colour for absenting themselves, having nothing to do with the orders or disorders of the lower house? The lords here and the lower house are as great strangers in those matters as the parliament houses of Spain and France. Neither had the recusants of the lower house any just cause of defection, since an indifferent committee was offered to them.

“This was such an ill example, and such a crime, to refuse to appear at the king’s summons, as if you shall advise with lawyers upon it, I know not what it may import. After this, hither you come, and only your appeal to me hath inclined me to mercy; yet I speak not this to encourage your complaints to be brought hither, when the deputy and state may determine them, though that being a matter of parliament was fit for the king’s hearing, and your appeal hath been heard and heard *usque ad nauseam*.

“And whereas it should have wrought humility and thanks; the fruit hath been that (I will not say in a preposterous) but in a rebellious manner, you have heaped complaints upon complaints, and petitions upon petitions, not warranted with any truth, to make the more noise; whereas you should have looked back to your own miscarriage.

“Then

"Then I sent commissioners to examine, as well the bye as the main business which you first presented to be the cause of your appealing to me; but, instead of thanks for that favour, there came yet more new complaints, which, because the council here have already answered, I will not speak of. Now if you look back to you own miscarriage and my lenity, you shall find that your carriage hath been most undutiful and unreasonable, and in the next degree to treason, and that you have nothing to fly to but to my grace.

"The lower house here in England doth stand upon its privileges as much as any council in Christendom; yet if such a difference had arisen there, they would have gone on with my service notwithstanding, and not have broken up their assembly upon it. You complain of fourteen false returns; are there not many more complained of in this parliament? Yet they do not forsake the house for it.

"Now, for your complaints touching parliament matters; I find no more amiss in this parliament than in the best parliament in the world. Escapes and faults in sheriffs there may be, yet not that proved; or if it had been proved, no cause to stay the parliament;—all might have been set right by an ordinary course of trial, to which I must refer them. But you complain of the new boroughs: therein I would fain feel your pulse, for yet I find not out where the shoe wrings.

"For first, you question the power of the king whether he may lawfully make them: and then you question the wisdom of the king and his council, in that you say, there are too many made, it was never before heard that any good subject did dispute the king's power in this point.—What is it to you whether I make many or few Boroughs? my council may consider the fitness, if  
I re-



I require it. But, what if I make forty noblemen and four hundred boroughs? the more the merrier, the fewer the better cheer.

But this complaint, as you made it, was preposterous, for in contending for a committee before you agreed on a speaker, did put the plough before the horse so as it went on untowardly like your Irish ploughs; but because the eye of the master maketh the horse fat, I have used my own eyes in taking a view of those boroughs, and have sent a list of them all. God is my judge, I find the new boroughs, except one or two to be as good as the old, comparing Irish boroughs new, with Irish boroughs old (for I will not speak of the boroughs of other countries) and yet (besides the necessity of making them) like to increase and grow better daily; besides I find but few erected in each county, and in many counties but one borough only, and those erected in fit places near forts or passages, for the safety of the county. Methinks you that seek the good of that kingdom should be glad of it.

I have caused London also to erect boroughs there, and when they are thoroughly planted will be a great security to that part of the kingdom, therefore you quarrel with that which may bring peace to the country.—For the persons returned out of those boroughs you complain they have no residence; if you had said they have no interest, it had been somewhat, but most of them have interest in the kingdom, and *qui habent interesse*, are like to be as careful as you for the weal thereof.

I seek not, *emendicata suffragia*, such boroughs as have been made since the summons, are wiped away at one word for this time. I have tryed that and done you fair play, but you that are of a contrary religion, must not look to be the only law-makers, you that are but half subjects should have but

but half privileges: you that have an eye to me one way and to the pope another; (nay the pope is your father *in spiritualibus* and I *in temporalibus* only, and so you have your bodies' torn one way and your souls drawn another,) you that send your children to the seminaries of treason, strive henceforth to become full subjects that you may have *cor unum* and *viam unam*, and then I shall respect you all alike; but your Irish priests teach you such grounds of doctrines, as you cannot follow them with a safe conscience, but you must cast off your loyalty to your king.

Touching the grievances whereof you have complained, I am loth to spend breath in them. If you charge the inferiour ministers of the country, all countries are subject to such grievances, but if you charge the deputy and state, *nihil probatur*: indeed I hear (not from you, but from others) there is one thing grievous to the country, that notwithstanding the composition established in the provinces, the governors there do send out their purveyors, who take up their achates and other provision upon the country, if this had been complained of to the deputy, or to me, it had been reformed;—the deputy himself at Dublin doth not grieve the country with any such burden.

Another thing there is that grieveth the people which is, that in the country where there is half peace and half war, the sheriff and soldiers in their passage do commit many extortions.

For these grievances I myself will call the deputy unto me, and set down such orders in this time of vacation, as these abuses shall be redressed and clear taken away; and if any such disorder be suffered hereafter, it shall be only for fault of complaining: and because the meaner sort will perhaps fear to complain, I would have such gentlemen of the country, as are of best credit to  
present

present complaints, which they may do in such manner, as the parties who prefer the complaint may not be known.

“ There is a double cause why I should be careful of the welfare of that people :—First, as king of England, by reason of the long possession the crown of England hath had of that land, and also as king of Scotland ; for the ancient kings of Scotland are descended from the kings of Ireland, so as I have an old title as king of Scotland therefore you shall not doubt to be relieved when you complain, so as you will proceed without clamour.

“ Moreover, my care hath been, that no acts should be perfered that should be grievous to that people ; and to that end I perused them all except one, but I saw not, till of late, that is now out of doors, for I protest I have been more careful for the bills to be passed in that Parliament than in the parliament of England.

“ Lastly, For imputations that may seem to touch the deputy, I have found nothing done by him, but what is fit for an honourable gentleman to do in his place, which he hath discharged as well as any deputy did, and divers of you have confessed so to me ; and I find your complaints against him and the state, to be but causeless expostulations.

“ To conclude; my sentence is, That in the matter of parliament, you have carried yourselves tumultuously and undutifully, and that your proceedings have been made, disorderly and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment, which, by reason of your submission I do forbear, but not remit, ’till I see your dutiful carriage in this parliament ; where, by your obedience to the deputy and state, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your by-past miscarriage ; and then you may deserve not only pardon but favour and cherishing.”

And

And so they were all dismissed, and the lord deputy had O'Dogharry's estate in Inislower given him, and was sent back to Ireland, where he was ordered to hold a parliament.

Accordingly he summoned one on the eleventh of October that year, as hoping that all cause of disputes would now be at an end, nevertheless, the recusants found out one of no less importance than, That the lord of Shane ought to take place of the lord of Kerry.—This matter was heard and re-heard; but yet was not ended till the earls of Suffolk, Lenox, Worcester, and Pembroke, who executed the marshal's office in England, declared the lord of Kerry's claim to be valid. And then the parliament proceeded to business, and at last passed the following acts:

I. An act of recognition, reciting, that Ireland, which before his majesty's accession to the crown had been subject to continued rebellions, rapines, and oppressions, was, by his majesty's gracious government, reduced to better order, and that he had established his government in the hearts of his people, by the general proclamation of oblivion, and suppressing actions for trespasses done in the war between subject and subject, at his first coming by his special charters of pardon, by name, freely granted to many thousands, by remitting many great debts, arrears of rent, and forfeitures, and by strengthening defective titles; and re-granting the lands to them on surrenders; by erecting court-houses, and enlarging the number of the judges, and by putting a civil plantation in the forfeited parts of Ulster (formerly the nest of rebellion) to the great security of the commonwealth.

II. An act, that all the crimes committed on the sea, or within the jurisdiction of the admiralty, should be tried in any county, according to the



## HISTORY OF IRELAND.

rules of the common law, by commission to the admiral or his deputy, and three or four more, or any four of them.

III. An act for taking away benefit of clergy in certain cases.

IV. An act for the attainder of the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, Sir Cahir O'Dogharty, and others.

V. An act to repeal some former ones prohibiting trade and commerce with the Irish enemies, or to marry and foster with them, and commanding to seize them as spies.

VI. An act of repeal of a former statute against bringing in, retaining, or marrying with Scots.

VII. An act for repairing and mending highways and causeways, &c.

VIII. An act for avoiding private and secret outlawries.

IX. An act of oblivion and general pardon.

X. An act for one subsidy (which amounted to somewhat more than twenty-six thousand pounds.)

Which acts being passed, the parliament was prorogued.—And the same year a convocation was held at Dublin; wherein the nine articles agreed on at Lambeth, in the year sixteen hundred and fifty-five, amongst many others were established.

Several catholic lawyers were at this time forbidden to practise, on account of their demeaning themselves in such a manner as was disagreeable to government. This was the next complaint that troubled the public tranquillity; and on their behalf the lord of Kylline and Sir Christopher Plunket petitioned the lords and council of England, observing, That the statute 2. Elizabeth did not extend to lawyers.—That these men had spent their time and fortune in study, and were very useful in causing the people to embrace the laws of England, which were so valuable

liable in comparison of the Brehon law. That the statute 2 Eliz. was illegally executed, the fees being five times the penalty of that statute, &c.—That the judges of assize enquired into all forfeitures since the last assize, whereas there were sessions intervening, wherein, perhaps, the party having been already punished, might yet by this inquisition be punished over again for the same fault. That ministers exacted money for marriages and christenings, though they did not officiate, and that besides the ordinances exacted great sums for commutation of penance, in all which articles the complainants besought redress and relief.

Towards the end of this summer, a commission was sent over under the great seal of England, empowering the lord deputy and others to bargain for any of the king's lands or tenements, spiritual or temporal, within the kingdom of Ireland, on which many people took out patents; and the patentees had free liberty to transport the produce of their land to any part of England or Wales, and had besides a clause of exoneration from cess, coigne and livery, and such like customs and impositions, the royal corporations and risings-out only excepted.

As this was the season for plots, another dangerous one is said to have been discovered to Sir Thomas Philips, by one Teig O'Lenan, the design of which was to seize Charlemont, and other forts in Ulster, and to murder the protestants there and elsewhere, and on the evidence of this man several persons were convicted. The catholics say that the evidence was suborned by the governor, whilst on the other hand, the protestants assert that Brian O'Neal and Roger O'Cahan, two of the culprits confessed the fact for which they had

suffered, in nearly the same terms with those in which Lenan related it.

Be that as it may, it is certain the Irish never had less cause to lay plots, or break out into sedition and rebellion, than in the present reign. If some of the former princes had indeed ruled them with a rod of iron, James seemed resolved to sway them with a golden scepter. Descended as he was from the ancient princes of Ireland, who derived their origin from the illustrious tribe of Dabriadas, we find him every where boasting his lineage; and whereas other English sovereigns had strove to suppress the very name of Irishman, and endeavoured to load them with many disadvantages, James seemed willing that they should share in every just privilege with his English subjects, and be united with them in a brotherly love and amity. Nor did he stop merely at *words*; for notwithstanding the undutiful behaviour of the members of this parliament we find some acts passed there in their favour (the bills not of *their own* propounding) and the sessions, maugre all the animosity which seemed to reign at the beginning of it, concluded in such a manner as could not but give any rational beings satisfaction.

When the old natives of Ireland made up at first an entire body, separate from the English Pale, when they sent no members to parliament, when they were denied all privileges, and oppressed by conquerors who had not yet subdued one fourth part of their country, it is not wonderful to see them rising upon slight occasions, and to observe multitudes of them misled by their chiefs, burning, massacring and destroying out of a mere spirit of misguided patriotism, and contending for the succession of their ancient  
princes

princes  
princes  
they  
ed by  
their o  
attend  
less to  
tored n  
so, th  
would  
the ex  
upon  
Englisl  
cited n  
of any  
prejudi  
human  
hithert  
of this  
crimes  
tions  
the spe  
oppress  
confide  
But  
of thei  
fects, a  
Irish g  
the fo  
upon  
tion co  
in it th  
think  
me for  
guish  
by the  
REBEL  
them.

princes, through misplaced loyalty, when yet those princes were allowed to rule as such, provided they suffered their nominal subjects to be oppressed by the great English lords of the Pale, who had their own private interest often too much in view to attend to that of their own king and country, much less to respect the lives and properties of the untutored natives of Ireland.—While these things were so, the Irish were not without excuses, which would admit of argument in their favour; and the executions and other punishments inflicted upon them in those earlier days, in which some English writers triumph, I own, have rather excited my pity, as I should think it must that of any one who will divest himself of unworthy prejudices, and listen to the dictates of mercy and humanity.—And for this reason it is that I have hitherto been abundantly cautious in the course of this history how I charged men with imputed crimes, or stigmatised them with odious appellations for following what might appear to have the specious colouring of justice, or opposing when oppressed, a government which they could scarcely consider as perfectly established among them.

But now the case was quite altered;—a king of their own stock, and, whatever were his defects, a gracious king to them, had established the Irish government upon a proper basis; and laid the foundation of a just and legal dependance upon the English crown. Every disobedient action committed after this æra must certainly have in it the true nature of treason, and therefore I think no man of any party can with justice blame me for the future, when after this reign I distinguish all illegal combinations for such purposes by the name of REBELLION, and term all those REBELS who are found to have any concern with them.



## HISTORY OF IRELAND.

Chichester, the lord deputy, was a man of great understanding and moderation. Situate as things were in Ireland, he could not but discern that religion was the the chief pretext of the catholics for contending against the government; whilst, on the other hand he saw a body of men increasing continually in power and reputation, who were one day fated to overturn the state, to deluge all the three kingdoms with blood, and to throw them all alike into anarchy and confusion. These were the Puritans.—In Queen Elizabeth's reign they had been kept under, for fear of sharing in the same punishment, which at pleasure she inflicted upon the papists; and it is fear alone that can keep some minds in awe. These Puritans resembling much the first reformers, were of a severe and obstinate disposition; they were illiberal and vindictive, gloomy and reserved, and attached to their own particular sect and persuasion, with a zeal which equalled at least, if it did not exceed that of the most bigotted papists. The connexion of England and Scotland which was established by the accession of James to the throne, occasioned an intercourse between the fanatics of both nations, and the nature of the government considered, it was not wonderful that they should spread in Ireland likewise. The lord deputy found these men as ready to complain against government as the others had been, though from contrary motives. If the papists thought the Catholic religion too much oppressed, the puritans asserted that it was too much encouraged. They clamoured against the indulgence shewn to the catholics in the matter of distributing the lands in Ulster; they complained that those who had always been enemies to the state should be at all favoured or intrusted; they were loud in their requisitions that the laws against popish recusants

cusants should be put in execution; in effect, they blamed the mild government of Chichester, and would fain have urged him once more to renew the scene of blood and confusion from which Ireland had been so lately delivered. But the lord deputy was too steady in the pursuit of the plan which he had laid down, and which had hitherto answered his purpose as well as he could possibly expect; and though he had enemies among all parties, who strove to misrepresent his actions both to king James, and to those whom he governed: yet he had the happiness to be approved of by his prince, and to have his conduct well understood and applauded by all good and sensible men in both kingdoms.

Accordingly, passing over into England to give an account of his administration, he was most favourably received by James, and created baron of Belfast, on the twenty-third of February, in the year sixteen hundred and fifteen, when Thomas Jones, and Sir John Denham were sworn lords justices in Ireland, the latter of whom was the first that improved the customs in Ireland, which when farmed were lett for five hundred pounds the first year, but before his death their value amounted to no less than fifty-four thousand pounds, an astonishing increase in the space of eighteen years, for he died on the sixth day of January, in the year sixteen hundred and thirty-eight.

But in the August following the new lord deputy, Sir Oliver St. John, arrived and was sworn lord deputy, who does not seem to have copied his predecessor's moderation, nevertheless it appears that the catholics were rather troublesome in his time, inveighing against the protestant government, and reviving the old question about the

the king's supremacy, on account of which he is said to have imprisoned ninety citizens of Dublin.

And now no magistrates or officers were suffered who would not take the oath of supremacy; —the catholics had their regulars banished, and Sir William Jones, lord chief justice, seized on the liberties of Waterford, because Nicholas White, the mayor refused this oath (which, however, was not tendered him till he had been in that office above a year,) and then the city electing John Skiddy, he also refused that oath, and Alexander Cuffe did the same, so that at length Walter Cleer was sworn mayor, who continued in the office; neither had the city any recorder since the death of Nicholas Walsh, in the year sixteen hundred and sixteen; all which things were found by inquisition; nevertheless, perhaps, these severities at that time had been better omitted.

The lord deputy being complained of, a commission was sent over to examine into the cause of such complaints, and those who were appointed for this purpose wisely judging that little redress of grievances could be had whilst the accused party continued in power, procured a successor to be named; and after much dispute about the matter, he was also re-called. However, he found means to make his cause good, or to make it appear so, and besides being loaded with honour had two hundred and thirty pounds allowed him to defray the charge of his voyage to England.

Adam Loftus, viscount Ely, and Richard Wingfield, viscount Powerscourt were sworn lords justices on the fourth day of May, and soon after received a letter from his majesty, ordering them to allow the new lord deputy, Falkland, his full entertainment, and all requisites from the day that the other surrendered the sword, deducting  
for

for themselves the sum of two thousand pounds per annum, till he receive the sword, which was done accordingly.

Henry Cary, viscount Falkland, was sworn on the eighth of September, sixteen hundred and twenty-two, at which time bishop Usher preached a sermon on a subject he had better not have meddled with. In the latter end of the reign some severities were practised against the papists, which they failed not to remember at a proper opportunity. And at this juncture died James the Sixth of Scotland, and the First of England, who was a prince of more talents than judgement, and of greater school-learning than policy or understanding.

The only surviving son of James ascended the throne, on the death of his father, by the title of Charles the First, who was undoubted heir to the crown, and who seemed to have, together with an uncontested title, every advantage that could be hoped for, to adorn and secure his royal estate; yet indeed it was far otherwise; for almost from the beginning, plans were laid to ruin his government.—The Puritans in England, who had been increasing in number, wealth, and power, all the last reign, now formed a very considerable body, such as threatened to disturb the peace of the nation, which indeed they quite destroyed in the sequel, while the catholics in Ireland were meditating a plan which at last broke out into open rebellion.

Henry, viscount Falkland, was continued lord deputy, who had many disputes with the chancellor, in which it seems the court thought the latter was in fault, and issued orders accordingly.

Amongst many other complaints of a more private nature, was one made by the lord Courcy, That



That Sir Dominic Scarsfield had obtained the title of lord viscount Kinsale, which being referred to the lord president by the council, the steward of the household, the earl of Totness, viscount Grandison, and chancellor of the dutchy, they reported that the lord Courcy and his ancestors were lords Courcy and barons of Kinsale and Ringrone. And thereupon the defendant endeavoured to carry the barony to another line, and also alledged an attainder, but he could not support either of his pleas. After that he proposed that one should be baron, and the other viscount Kinsale; but this proposal was rejected, and his majesty ordered, That Sir Dominic should relinquish the title of Kinsale, but should still retain the dignity of a viscount, only chusing out some other name whereby to denominate his honour;—and accordingly he was afterwards made lord viscount Killmallock.

At this time some designs were set on foot to encourage a more tolerant spirit in religion, and to engage the catholics more willingly to contribute to the support of government;—amongst which were, a plan to suffer them to sue out liveries without taking the oath of supremacy; and another for suspending all proceedings against them for marriage and christening by priests, &c. But this design was so violently opposed by the protestant archbishops and bishops, that it came to nothing.—A protest which they had drawn up was read to his congregation by Downham, bishop of Derry, and was instrumental in drawing on a remonstrance from the house of commons in England, That the popish religion was publicly professed in every part of Ireland, and that monasteries and nunneries were there newly erected, and replenished with votaries of both sexes, which would be of evil consequences, unless

less seasonably repressed. But, notwithstanding all this, the king granted them some indulgence, on account of their agents having consented to the payment of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds in three years, and recommended those agents particularly to the favour of the lord deputy, who being afterwards re-called on account of some complaints that were preferred against him, Adam Loftus, and Richard earl of Cork were sworn lords justices, who began to order prosecutions to be commenced against the catholics for not going to church, a practice, which if the case had been reversed would in any other country have been called by the protestants a most unjust and cruel persecution. But the affair was suppressed by the wisdom and goodness of Charles, who by that as well as other deeds of indulgence drew upon himself the implacable hatred of the puritans.

The parliament having passed many good acts, was now prorogued, after which as a grand inquisition was to be held, the lord deputy and council made a progress into Connaught, to enquire into his majesty's title to certain lands there. And to prevent the people in general from being too much alarmed at this inquisition, they published a declaration, That it was not his majesty's intention to take any thing from his people that was justly theirs, and therefore that those who had effectual patents should have the full benefit of them, as if they were found *verbatim* in the great office then to be taken, provided the patents, or the enrolment thereof were shewn to the council before the next Easter term, and by them approved to be good and effectual in law." And having done this, they proceeded to find the king's title good to most part of that province, where they therefore designed to make a  
great

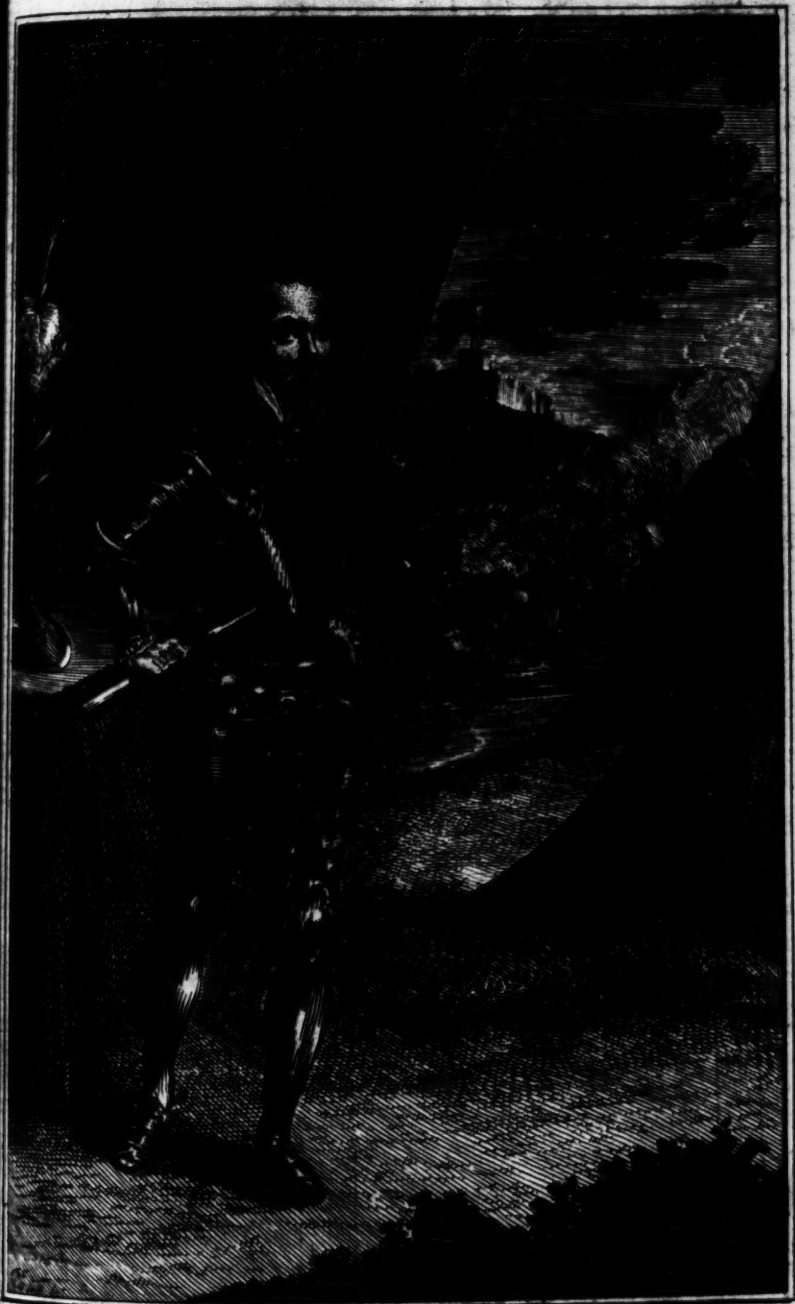
great English plantation. But this likewise the Irish treasured up in their hearts, and made it afterwards one of their excuses for rebellion.

Adam Loftus, viscount Ely, and Sir Christopher Wandesford, master of the rolls, were sworn lords justices, the depury going to England to give an account of his administration; but not long after Thomas, viscount Wentworth, was appointed lord deputy, in whose time the case of tenures was argued, but the determination being, That the letters patent were void; so alarmed the people, that the execution of it was postponed, and at length the king quitted the advantage of it, acting in that case as he did in many others, doing just enough to provoke people, but never enough to subdue them.

Wentworth passing to England, in the year, sixteen hundred and thirty-nine, Robert, lord Dillon, and Sir Christopher Wandesford, as lords justices took charge of the government till his return, after which the Irish parliament meeting in March, granted four entire subsidies to the king, and were prorogued in the middle of June, till the month of October following.

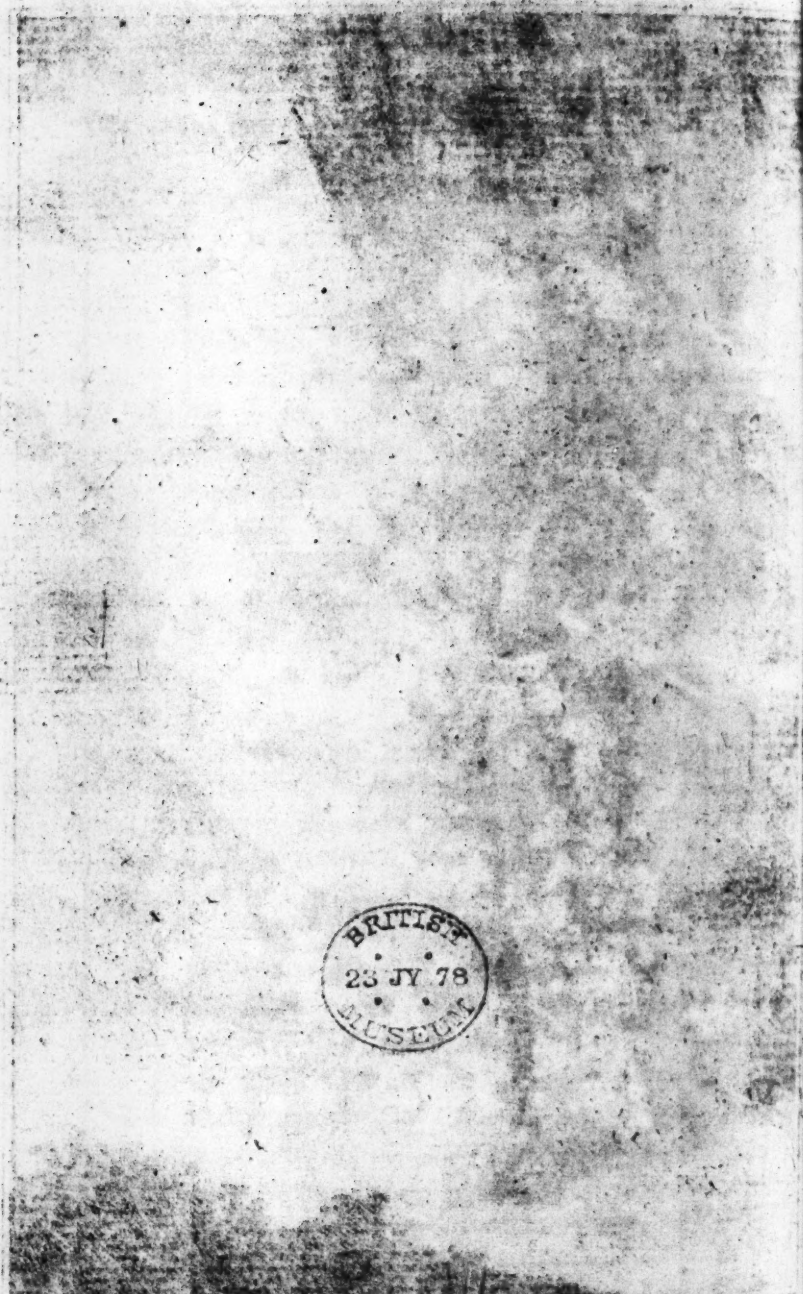
On the credit of these subsidies, and of the public revenue did Wentworth raise nine thousand men, with the laudable intention of serving his master, and over-awing his rebellious subjects.— This faithful service, which in any other place, or perhaps at any other time, would certainly have received the commendation it deserved, was by a strange perversion of things, afterwards turned to his detriment, and was one of the causes assigned for taking away his life, when he was equally meanly and imprudently given up by his master.

This lord lieutenant (now earl of Strafford) going over again to England to give an account  
of



*Thomas Wentworth, Earl of*  
**STRAFFORD.**





*James H. Thompson*  
JUL 23 1878

H I  
of his  
being  
to pr  
from  
him  
upon  
get a  
execu  
T  
manf  
Nich  
ard  
dres  
Cart  
Burk  
mery  
cont  
earl,  
follo  
“  
of t  
land  
care  
and  
expe  
and  
now  
cest  
nici  
the  
ter  
ble  
here  
of,  
men  
this  
a fl  
hero

of his government, Sir Christopher Wandesford, being made lord deputy, did all that he could to prevent a committee of the Irish parliament from following him with a design to impeach him in England; nevertheless, intent as they were upon doing him an ill office, they contrived to get away privately, and carried their design into execution.

The committee was made up of the lords Gormanstown, Killmallock, Castilo, and Baltinglass; Nicholas Plunket, Sir Robert Digby, Sir Richard Fitz Gerald, and Nicholas Barnwall, Sir Hardress Waller, John Welsh, Sir Donough MacCarthy, Robert Lynch, Geoffrey Brown, Thomas Burk, Sir William Cole, and Sir James Montgomery, who were privately encouraged by the discontented parliament of England to prosecute the earl, and brought over from that of Ireland the following remonstrance directed to the deputy.

“ That in all ages since the happy subjection of this kingdom to the imperial crown of England it was and is a principal study, and princely care of his majesty and his noble progenitors, kings and queens of England and Ireland, to the vast expence of treasure and blood, that their loyal and dutiful people of this land of Ireland being now for the most part derived from British ancestors, should be governed according to the municipal and fundamental laws of England; that the statute of Magna Charta, or the great charter of the liberties of England, and other laudable laws and statutes, were in several parliaments here enacted and declared, that by the means thereof, and of the most prudent and benign government of his majesty and his royal progenitors, this kingdom was, until of late, in its growth a flourishing estate, whereby the said people were heretofore enabled to answer their humble and  
natural

natural desires, to comply with his majesty's princely and royal occasions, by their free gift of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling; and likewise by another free gift of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, more during the government of the lord viscount Falkland, and after the gift of forty thousand pounds, and their free and chearful gift of six intire subsidies in the sixth year of his majesty's reign; which to comply with his majesty's then occasions, signified to the house of commons, they did allow should amount in the collections unto two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, although (as they confidently believe) if the subsidies had been levied in a moderate parliamentary way, they would not have amounted to much more than half the sum aforesaid, besides the four entire subsidies granted in this parliament.—So it is, may it please your lordship, by the occasion of the ensuing and other grievances and innovations, (though to his majesty no considerable profit) this kingdom is reduced to that extreme and universal poverty, that the same is less able to pay subsidies than it was heretofore to satisfy all the before recited great payments: And his majesty's most faithful people of the land do conceive great fears, that the said grievances and consequences thereof may be hereafter drawn into precedents to be perpetuated upon their posterity, which in their great hopes and strong beliefs, they are persuaded is contrary to his royal and princely intention towards his said people;—some of which said grievances are as follow:

“ I. The general apparent decay of trade, occasioned by the new and illegal raising of the book of rates and impositions upon natives and other commodities, exported and imported; by reason whereof, and of extreme usage and censures, merchants

HIS  
mercha  
discour  
able pe  
and pa  
jesty's  
“ II.  
and co  
lord lie  
judicato  
in the  
commo  
season  
of such  
and un  
vants,  
kind o  
part of  
wife; a  
writ of  
legal a  
and co  
“ III.  
board,  
limited  
“ IV.  
parts th  
graces,  
mitation  
the fou  
of the  
great co  
courts  
kingdom  
do tak  
pious i  
not enj  
promise

merchants are beggared, and both disabled and discouraged from trade, and some of the honourable persons who gain thereby are often judges and parties; and that, in the conclusion, his majesty's profit there is not considerably advanced.

" II. The arbitrary decision of all civil causes and controversies by paper petitions before the lord lieutenant and lord deputy, and infinite other judicatories upon reference from them, derived in the nature of all actions determinable at the common law, not limited into certain time, cause season or thing whatsoever; and in consequence of such proceedings, by receiving immoderate and unlawful fees, by secretaries clerks, pursuivants, serjeants at arms, and otherwise; by which kind of proceeding his majesty loseth a great part of his revenue upon original writs and otherwise; and the subject loseth the benefit of his writ of error, bill of reversal, vouchers, and other legal and just advantages, and the ordinary course and courts of justice declined.

" III. The proceedings in civil causes at council-board, contrary to the law and great charter, not limited to any certain time or season.

" IV. That the subject is, to all the material parts thereof, denied the benefit of the princely graces, and more especially of the statute of limitation of 24 Jac. granted by his majesty in the fourth year of his reign, upon great advice of the councils of England and Ireland, and for great consideration, and then published in all the courts of Dublin and in all the counties of this kingdom, in open assizes, whereby all persons do take notice, that contrary to his majesty's pious intentions, his subjects of this land have not enjoyed the benefit of his majesty's princely promise thereby made.

" V. The



" V. The extra-judicial avoiding of letters patents of estates of a very great part of his majesty's subjects, under the great seal of the public faith of the kingdom, by private opinions delivered at the council-board, without legal evictions of their estates, contrary to law, and without precedent or example of any former ages.

" VI. The proclamations for the sole emption and uttering of tobacco, which is bought at very low rates, and uttered at high and excessive rates, by means whereof thousands of families within this kingdom, and of his majesty's subjects in several islands and other parts of the West-Indies, (as your petitioners are informed) are destroyed, and the most part of the coin of this kingdom is engrossed into particular hands; insomuch that your petitioners do conceive, that the profit arising and engrossed thereby doth surmount his majesty's revenue, certain or casual, within this kingdom; and yet his majesty receiveth but very little profit by the same.

" VII. The universal and unlawful increasing of monopolies, to the advantage of a few, the dis-profit of his majesty, and impoverishment of his people.

" VIII. And the extreme cruel usage of certain late commissioners, and other stewards of the British farmers and inhabitants of the city and county of Londonderry, by means whereof the worthy plantation of that country is almost destroyed, and the inhabitants are reduced to great poverty, and many of them forced to forsake the country, the same being the first and most useful plantation in the large province of Ulster; to the great weakening of the kingdom in this time of danger, the said plantation being the principal strength of those parts.

" IX. The late erection of the court of high commission for causes ecclesiastical in these necessitous

H I  
cessitous  
in man  
support  
though  
fees ex  
encroac  
of othe  
" X  
exactec  
which  
lordship  
" X  
that his  
impaired  
said, an  
ment h  
nue, b  
that al  
dom w  
yet his  
been in  
indebte  
they d  
account  
what n  
" X  
and gre  
kingdo  
five, p  
depart  
lord de  
kingdo  
access  
council  
or to  
their a  
reign  
are exa  
VOL

cessitous times; the proceedings of the said court in many causes without legal warrant, and yet so supported as prohibitions have not been obtained, though legally sought for: And the excessive fees exacted by the ministers thereof, and the encroaching of the same upon the jurisdiction of other ecclesiastical courts of this kingdom.

"X. The exorbitant fees and pretended customs exacted by the clergy against the law, some of which have been formerly represented to your lordship.

"XI. The petitioners do most heartily bemoan that his majesty's service and profit are much more impaired than advanced by the grievances aforesaid, and the subsidies granted in the last parliament having much increased his majesty's revenue, by the buying grants and otherwise, and that all his majesty's debts then due in this kingdom were satisfied out of the said subsidies, and yet his majesty is of late (as the petitioners have been informed in the house of commons) become indebted in this kingdom in great sums. And they do therefore humbly beseech, That an exact account may be sent to his majesty how and in what manner the treasure is issued.

"XII. The petitioners do humbly conceive just and great fears at a proclamation published in this kingdom, Anno Domini sixteen hundred and thirty-five, prohibiting men of quality or estates to depart this kingdom into England without the lord deputy's licence, whereby the subjects of this kingdom are hindered and interrupted from free access to address his sacred majesty and privy council of England, to declare their just grievances, or to obtain remedies for them, in such sort as their ancestors have done in all ages since the reign of king Henry the Second; and great fees are exacted for every of the said licences.

VOL. II.

C

"XIII. That

“ XIII. That of late his majesty's attorney-general hath exhibited informations against many ancient boroughs of this kingdom into his majesty's court of exchequer, to shew cause by what warrant the said boroughs (which heretofore sent burgesses to parliament) should send burgesses to the parliament: And thereupon, for want of an answer, the said privileges of sending burgesses were seized by the said court. Which proceedings were altogether *coram non judice*, and contrary to the laws and privileges of the house of parliament, and if way should be given thereunto, would be the subversion of parliament, and by consequence, to the ruin and destruction of the commonwealth. And that the house of commons hath hitherto, in this present parliament, been deprived of the advice and council of many profitable and good members by means thereof.

“ XIV. By the powerfulness of some ministers of state in this kingdom, the parliament in its members and actions hath not its natural freedom.

“ XV. And lastly, That the gentry, and merchants, and other his majesty's subjects of this kingdom, are of late, by the grievances and pressures before said, and other the like, brought very near to ruin and destruction: And the farmers of customs, customers, waiters, searchers clerks of unwarrantable proceedings, pursuivants and gaolers, and sundry others very much enriched; whereby, and by the slow redress of the petitioners grievances, his majesty's most faithful and dutiful people of this kingdom do conceive great fears, that their readiness, approved upon all occasions, hath not been of late rightly represented to his sacred majesty: For remedy whereof the said petitioners do humbly and of right beseech your lordship, that the said grievances and pressures may be speedily redressed; and if your lordship shall not think fit to afford present relief, that your lordship might admit a select committee  
of

of this  
nefit ari  
censed  
majesty  
to obtai  
other ju  
on all j  
without  
to be r  
in parli  
serve h  
and pri  
But  
monstran  
soon aft  
Dillon,  
justices,  
of his  
Strafford  
ordnance  
Irish co  
parliame  
be trans  
to the p  
parliame  
an impe  
mons to  
lord cha  
Ratcliff  
other th  
earl of S  
out of t  
and for  
papists i  
And  
from se  
majesty  
ed rebel

of this house, of persons uninterested in the benefit arising from the aforesaid grievances, to be licensed by your lordship to repair to his sacred majesty in England, for to pursue the same, and to obtain fitting remedy for their aforesaid and other just grievances and oppressions: And upon all just and honourable occasions they will, without respect of particular interest, or prospect to be raised thereby, most humbly and readily in parliament extend their utmost endeavours to serve his majesty, and comply with his royal and princely occasions."—

But the lord deputy having notice of this remonstrance prorogued the Irish parliament, and soon after died suddenly; on which Robert lord Dillon, and Sir William Parsons were sworn lords justices, but the former was removed on account of his intimacy and alliance with the earl of Strafford, and Sir John Borlace, master of the ordnance, appointed in his stead, by desire of the Irish committee, during whose administration the parliament sitting, sent two lists of grievances to be transmitted, one to the king, and the other to the parliament of England. And in the same parliament, captain Audley Mervin, brought up an impeachment of high treason from the commons to the lords, against Sir Richard Botton, lord chancellor, and others: nor did Sir Richard Ratcliff escape the same charge, who amongst other things, was accused of joining with the earl of Strafford in taking eighty thousand pounds out of the exchequer, in order to buy tobacco, and for favouring the religion and interests of the papists in Ireland.

And now the lords justices received a letter from secretary Vane, informing them that his majesty had had some intimation of an intended rebellion in Ireland, and especially in Con-



naught, and advising them to be upon their guard, in order to prevent the design, if any such there were, and to provide for the safety of the kingdom.

Yet notwithstanding this admonition they did not sufficiently guard against the plot, as the sequel proved; for which (perhaps) as well as for other reasons, there have not been wanting those who have accused them of attending more to their own private advantage than the good of the kingdom committed to their care, a charge which if it be proved must be allowed to be most inexcusable.

In the mean time the earl of Strafford was brought to his trial in England. The chief articles of impeachment, against whom, as relative to Ireland, we have here set down as extracted from Rushworth, that the reader may see on what principles that great man was condemned, and form a more accurate judgment of the grievances that were complained of under his government.

The third article (which is the first relating to Ireland) is, that he should say, "That Ireland was a conquered nation, and that the king might do with them what he pleased; and that the charters of the corporations were worth nothing, and did bind the king no farther than he pleased."

To which the earl answered, "That he never spoke those words; and that the scope and intent of what he did say was to ingratiate his majesty's government with the people; and that his words were well accepted at that time, however they came to be resented now. That the charters of Dublin were, in the year sixteen hundred and thirty-four, brought before the council and still are in the hands of the clerk of the council;

HIS  
council  
pits of  
nied lib  
set up  
that the  
one tha  
vernme  
but enj  
reforma  
not del  
The  
Cork h  
possessio  
from t  
puty-th  
surcase  
neither  
orders.  
occasion  
and all  
govern  
or to be  
of that  
that he  
upon p  
cil-table  
To  
the cou  
land,  
answer  
fore th  
be obe  
parliam  
prosecu  
cil onl  
The  
on the  
thirty-

council; because (besides other abuses) the papists of that city engrossed all the trade, and denied liberty to such as came out of England to set up there, which he had so far remedied, as that there were three Englishmen in Dublin, for one that was there when he came to the government; and the charters were not condemned but enjoyed to that day, so that he aimed at a reformation in favour of the English, but did not design the destruction of the charters."

The fourth article was, "That the earl of Cork having begun a suit of law to recover a possession he had lost, by colour of an order from the lord deputy and council, the lord deputy threatened to imprison him unless he would surcease his suit: saying, That he would have neither law nor lawyers dispute, or question his orders. And that he said upon another (the like) occasion, That he would make the earl of Cork, and all Ireland know, that so long as he had the government there, any act of state there made or to be made, should be as binding to the subjects of that kingdom as an act of parliament; and that he questioned that earl in the castle-chamber, upon pretence of a breach of an order of council-table.

To this the earl of Strafford answered, That the council table was a court of record in Ireland, wherein they proceeded formally, by bill, answer, examination of witnesses, &c. and therefore the orders of it were binding, and ought to be obeyed; he denied he compared it to be a parliament, and denied that the earl of Cork was prosecuted for disobedience of an order of council only.

The fifth article was, That in time of peace, on the twelfth of December, sixteen hundred and thirty-five he did give and procure to be given  
C 3 sentence

sentence of death against the lord Mountmorris, at a council of war (for saying of an accidental hurt his kinsman had given the lord deputy's foot, "Perhaps it was done in revenge of that affront done me publicly, but I have a brother would not have taken such a revenge") and that the like sentence was given against Thomas Dennit, who was executed thereupon.

To this the earl answered, "That he was general of the army, and had power of martial law, which was usual in Ireland, and the lord Mountmorris, was an officer in the standing army, and by these mutinous words had transgressed the thirteenth and the twenty first articles of war, That he was not a judge of it, but the council of war were the judges, That the lord Mountmorris suffered nothing but a short imprisonment, and was told at that time by the earl, that he should not suffer according to the sentence; and as for Dennit, he had stolen a quarter of beef, and also ran away from his colours, which was felony in Ireland, and it was at a time when a regiment was embarking for England."

The sixth article was, That on a paper petition, without legal proceedings, he caused the lord Mountmorris to be dispossessed of lands he had enjoyed quietly eighteen years.

To this the earl said, "That sort of proceeding was usual in Ireland, and he had a positive order for it (except in special cases) by the king's letter, dated the fifth of October, 9 Car. I. That three of the judges assisted him in the trial, and that the judgment was very just.

The eighth article was, That he imprisoned the lord chancellor Loftus for not obeying his decree on a paper petition, and also imprisoned him for not giving up the great seal; and also imprisoned the earl of Kildare, for not submitting

H I  
ing his  
sure;  
the co  
to be  
threat  
the wa  
were f

To  
case o  
board  
and th  
denied

The  
to the  
of the  
the po  
summe  
gave  
ble for

To  
former  
pits,  
munica  
one, a  
again.

The  
custon  
vance  
to exc  
be bu  
part  
there  
be go  
made

To  
rates  
so mo  
hundr

ing his title to Castle-Ley to the lord deputy's pleasure; and that contrary to the major vote of the council, he caused an order of council-board to be made against the widow Hibbot, and threatened to fine her so high if she disobeyed that she was thereby forced to quit her lands, which were since conveyed to the use of the earl.

To which the earl answered, That it was a case of fraud and oppression. that the council-board in Ireland had jurisdiction in such cases, and that the major vote was against her; and denied the lands were conveyed to his use.

The ninth article was, That he gave warrants to the bishops of Down and Connor, and others of their officers, to arrest and imprison such of the poorer sort as refused to appear upon their summons, or disobeyed their sentences, until they gave security to shew cause at the council-table for such contempt.

To which he answered, That such warrants were formerly used, and even at the desire of the papists, to save the charge of the writ *de Excommunicato Capiendo*, that he never granted but this one, and finding it abused, he soon called it in again.

The tenth article was, That he procured the customs to be farmed to his own use, and advanced the book of rates on native commodities to excessive prices, whereby the custom that should be but the twentieth became the third or fourth part of the true value of the commodity, and there was a clause in the grant, that it should be good, though an act of parliament should be made against it.

To this the earl answered, That the book of rates was advanced before his farm; that it was so moderate, that the king sent a letter in sixteen hundred and thirty-seven, to raise it higher, which



he opposed; that he was drawn into the farm by the king's command, and the lord Portland's importunity; and that the king had great part of the profit of it, and that trade was exceedingly increased since his coming to the government.

And the matter of fact proved to be thus: The customs of Ireland were in 16 Jac. I. demised to the duke of Buckingham, for ten years, at six thousand pounds *per annum*, and half the clear profits above the rents, which half (*Communibus annis*) amounted to three thousand seven hundred pounds *per annum*; so that in effect, the duke paid nine thousand seven hundred pounds *per annum*,—but he had allowance for several deductions, as one thousand four hundred pounds *per annum*, in lieu of the customs of wines, which were leased to the earl of Carlisle at that rent; and the customs of Derry, Colerain, Knockfergus, and Strangford reserved to the king.

On the twentieth of March, in the seventh year of king Charles I. the customs were let to the dutchess of Buckingham for twenty thousand pounds fine, and eleven thousand and fifty pounds *per annum* rent, and Derry, &c. included, and the lord of Carlisle's lease was surrendered to the king on the twenty-first day of the same month, and then the new book of rates was made.

And on the twenty-first of April following, viz. 8 Car. I. the dutchess of Buckingham's lease being surrendered, a new one was made to lord Strafford and partners, for eight thousand pounds fine, and fifteen thousand five hundred pound *per annum*, and they managed it so well that this branch of the revenue yielded them as follows,

Anno

# HISTORY OF IRELAND.

44

Anno. 1636—39,936

1637—38,889

1638—57,380

1639—55,582.

The eleventh article was, For restraining transportation of pipe-staves, &c. without licence; but that article was waved by the managers.

The twelfth was, That he monopolized the whole trade of tobacco by his proclamation that none should be imported without his licence; and another proclamation that none should be sold by wholesale, unless it were made up in rolls, sealed at both ends with a seal appointed by him; and that divers were pillored, whipt, fined, imprisoned, &c. for transgressing that proclamation: and whilst he raised the impost on other goods, he reduced that on tobacco from six pence to three pence *per* pound, whereby he got ten thousand pound *per annum*. And that he raised several other monopolies on starch, iron pots, glasses, tobacco-pipes, &c.

To which he answered, That on the sixth of June, 13 Jac. I. the king granted the impost on tobacco being eighteen pence per pound to William Massam and John Pit, for seven years at ten pounds *per annum*, and on the eighth of February, 19 Jac. I. it was lett to Mr. Lyre for twenty-one years, at twenty pounds *per annum*; upon the commons advice in parliament that lease was brought in, and on the eighteenth day of July 12 Car. I. the king ordered the lord deputy to assume the pre-emption of tobacco, &c. to advance the revenue: and this letter was the ground of the first proclamation, which in this matter followed the example of England, and the second proclamation was in effect but the duplicate of the proclamation in England of the nineteenth of March, 13 Car. I. *mutatis mutandis*,

*dis.*—That upon the seventh of November sixteen hundred and thirty-seven, he contracted with Mr. Carpenter, &c. for the sole importation of tobacco for eleven years, at five thousand pounds *per annum* for the first five years, and six thousand pound *per annum* the last six years, over and above three pence per pound impost; and that he had the consent of the principal of the council, and the approbation of his majesty, who consented to an act of parliament for the confirmation of it; that the council signed the proclamations, and if any were pillored, whipt, &c. it was for perjury or like crimes; and the fines were only *in terrorem*, little of them being levied:—and concluded that he was no gainer by that monopoly.

The thirteenth article was, That he also monopolized all the flax of the kingdom by his proclamation of the thirty-first day of May, 12 Car. I. and the thirty-first day of January in the same year, prescribing and enjoining rules and methods of making yarn and thread; which the unskilful natives could not practise, and ordering all linnen yarn and thread made in any other manner to be seized, which was accordingly executed with severity, whereby multitudes were undone, and many starved.

To which he answered, That what he did was to encourage the linen manufacture in Ireland, and to bring the Irish to a more artificial way of making linnen yarn, thread, and cloth; that the council concurred in the proclamation, which made temporary laws in Ireland; and that he was a loser of three thousand pounds by this project for the good of that country; that the evil consequences (if any) were collateral and accidental; and that the misdemeanors of inferior officers could not be charged on him; that he  
never

H I

never

of yan

less ft

The

oath (

ships :

The

illegal

Baltin

paid t

ard E

severa

childr

right

To

count

thouf

agree

that

be le

warr

done,

was f

vied

legal

ther

Wan

Butl

in I

T

his

ary,

plain

affai

the

of

perf

cept

never used more than four hundred pounds worth of yarn in a year, which could not undo, much less starve such multitudes as they pretended.

The fourteenth was, That he imposed a new oath (to make true invoice, &c.) on masters of ships;—but the managers declined this article.

The fifteenth was, That he arbitrarily imposed illegal taxes on the towns of Bandonbridge, and Baltimore; and cessed soldiers on them till they paid them; and by force of arms expelled Richard Butler from Castlecumber, and imprisoned several of the O'Brenans, and their wives and children, until they surrendered, and released their right and estates.

To this the earl answered, That when the country granted the king one hundred and twenty thousand pounds in nature of a subsidy, it was agreed between the deputy Falkland and them, that it should not be entered upon record, but be levied by captains, by paper assignments by warrant from the lord deputy, and so it was done, and the money levied on Brandon, &c. was for arrears of that contribution, and it was levied without force; and that Castlecumber was legally evicted, and that the soldiers sent thither (being but twelve) were sent to guard Mr. Wandesford's house; but used no force to Mr. Butler, or any quiet subject; and that it was usual in Ireland to quarter soldiers on delinquents.

The sixteenth article was, That he procured his majesty's order on the seventeenth of February, sixteen hundred and thirty-one, that no complaint should be received in England about Irish affairs, until it were first made in Ireland to the lord deputy.—And that by proclamation of the seventeenth of September, 11 Car. I. All persons that had estate or office in Ireland (except such as had employment in his majesty's service



service in England, or attended there by his special command) should reside in Ireland, and not depart without licence;—whereby people were hindred from complaining against the said earl: and they alledged that one Parry had been punished for so doing.

To this he answered, That it was by him and the council conceived fit to prevent unnecessary clamours here; but that he never denied licence except to the lords of Cork, Mountmorris, and Roch, because there were suits against them in the castle-chamber, and to Sir Frederick Hamilton by the king's command, which was taken off when he knew the design of his voyage was to complain against him, and to lord Deimond for a short time, because he was major general of the army; and that Parry was punished for other misdemeanours by the consent of the whole council.

The nineteenth was, That by proclamation of the twentieth of May, in the year sixteen hundred and thirty-nine, he imposed a new oath on the people, and grievously fined those that refused it. In particular, that Henry Stewart and his wife were fined five thousand pounds each, and their two daughters and James Gray three thousand pounds each, and were imprisoned for not paying it. And that he explained the oath by saying, "It was to oblige in point of allegiance to the ceremonies and government of the church established by his majesty's authority, and that he would prosecute to the utmost such as should disobey."—Moreover he was accused of having declared, That if he returned again, he would root out, stock and branch, the dissenting Scots.

To this he pertinently answered, That it was done in a dangerous time, for the security of the

the kingdom, and upon their own petition; besides that he had his majesty's orders for what he did; but, as to the fine of Stewart, &c. it was settled before it came to his vote, so that he did no more than concur with the rest;—neither did he speak against the Scottish nation, but only against the faction of the covenanters. [*And it is to be observed that the oath complained of had not been framed but as a check on their illegal oath and combination, which was prior to the other in point of time.*]

The twenty-second article was, That he procured the Irish parliament to declare against the Scots, and gave orders to raise an army of eight thousand foot, and one thousand horse, with intent to invade England.

He answered, That he raised those troops by his majesty's order, but with no such design, only to serve the king according to their bounden duty.

These articles, together with some other trifling ones, and an accusation of having ensnared a rebellious subject that lived near Carrickfergus, were thought ground sufficient by the English parliament, whereon to condemn this nobleman, who was accordingly sentenced to die the death of a traitor, which sentence was executed on the twelfth day of May, in the year sixteen hundred and forty-one, the king, though he otherwise interposed in his behalf, not having spirit enough to grant him a pardon.—

When Charles thus suffered the earl of Strafford to be executed, it has been justly observed, that he sharpened the axe to strike off his own head. For whatever charges were exhibited against that nobleman, (many of which were most malicious ones) it is certain that never subject  
better

better loved his prince, or more effectually endeavoured to serve him. Moreover, this action of Charles's was not only the most imprudent, but absolutely the worst of his reign, since Strafford had done nothing that he was accused of, but for his majesty's service, and many things by his express order.—Charles has been called a *tyrant*, if ever he behaved *like* one, it was in this instance, where he permitted a man to suffer for what was done to support *him* (if not by his own express order) and sacrificed a wife and most faithful minister to the rage of an angry and fatally deluded people. But it was ever the fault of the Stuarts to desert their friends, and make undue concessions to their enemies. It was owing to *this* (more than to their tyranny) that their reigns were generally unhappy; that of four of those princes, one, in spite of all his boasted sense and learning, lived despised; and died unregretted; a second lost his life on a scaffold; a third coming to the crown, after having experienced many misfortunes, was yet before his death opposed by his subjects; and a fourth was finally dethroned, to the utter ruin and expulsion of the lineal descendants of his family. For is there any party zealot so bigotted to his opinions as not to acknowledge that greater tyrants than any of these (the *last* not excepted) have swayed the British sceptre, governed the land with success and died at last in peace? If there be any such, I am sorry for the depravity of his heart, or the unsoundness of his judgment; for it is as clear as the light, that weakness and not tyranny has occasioned the ruin of most princes, and that they who have deposed them have often set up greater tyrants than those they pulled down.—I would  
not

not have this, however, considered as an argument for non-resistance against any oppressor, but surely it ought to be thrown into the ballance, when we speak of princes long since dead, and be duly weighed whenever we come to treat of their characters.

As for Strafford, though he had been accused as a favourer of the growth of popery, the allegation was false, and what was still worse, his accusers knew it to be so when they brought the charge against him; but he was a favourer of his royal master, and that was what most grieved their hearts, and drew the whole force of their resentment upon him. Had that master protected him as he ought, like a prince and like a man, and at the same time taken upon himself his own ill-judged proceedings, promised to reform them for the future, and generously kept his word with his people, Charles might have lived, Strafford might have lived, and the English might have recovered all that was *really* lost, without wading through deluges of blood to obtain it, and entailing a thousand sources of misery upon the ages yet unborn.

It is however certain that the earl had in some things gone beyond the usage and power of his predecessors, and also that he shewed too much favour and countenance to monopolies, in which he himself was concerned. In effect, he was guilty of misdemeanors, but of nothing which in the eye of the candid and unprejudiced part of mankind could be thought to deserve the death of a traitor. But at this time factions ran so high in Britain, that the king esteemed it dangerous to pardon his minister, though after he had signed the death-warrant he was seized with horror and remorse, and interposed to save him,  
but



but in vain.—His enemies had doomed him to destruction; and insisting that a plan had been laid for his escape, would listen to nothing in his favour. They had also, as they said, received intelligence of an association to defend the king's person and government against all opposers, and in consequence of these two terrible plots, were by no means to be wrought upon, so that Strafford's fate became inevitable, and he was conveyed to the place of execution, in pursuance of his sentence; when passing by the apartments of archbishop Laud, he was exhorted by that prelate in such a manner as confirmed him in that fortitude, which appeared at the moment of his suffering.—When he came to the fatal scaffold, he professed his attachment to the church of England, declared his loyalty to his prince, and his wishes for the peace and prosperity of the land; and in this temper of mind he prepared himself to receive the fatal stroke, and spoke to those about him as follows:—"Now, (said he) one fatal blow will make my wife a widow, my dear children fatherless; deprive my poor servants of their indulgent master, and separate me from my affectionate brother, and from all my friends. I thank God, (he added) that I am no way afraid of death, nor am daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose."—Having said thus he laid his head on the block which the executioner severed at one stroke from his body, and so completed this cruel tragedy.

But it is now time to leave the detail of private matters and return to the affairs of Ireland, where the parliament being adjourned, and all things seemingly in a state of public tranquillity, on Saturday the twenty-third of October, in the year sixteen hundred and forty-one, a sudden and almost

mo  
ten  
whi  
after  
insur  
the  
nativ  
main  
T  
to th  
of O  
man,  
his c  
Mac  
his ex  
That  
places  
the lo  
Birne,  
tlemen  
of Du  
county  
is also  
in othe  
by that  
of man  
power,  
was sure  
But t  
Irish fro  
such suc  
ther plac  
for ten  
yet at la  
thor, ma  
testants;  
protestant  
Vol. II

most universal defection of the Irish happened, attended with a great slaughter, the particulars of which shall be spoken of more at large hereafter.—It was on the score of religion that this insurrection was raised as a proof, in which the old English families joined with those of the native Irish, and but very few of the catholics remained untainted.

The conspiracy is said to have been discovered to the lord justice Parsons on the twenty-second of October, by one Owen O'Conally, an Irishman, Parsons communicated the intelligence to his colleague Borlace, and they having caused one Mac Mahon to be apprehended, he confessed on his examination the next morning at five o'clock, That on that very day all the forts and strong places of Ireland would be taken,—that he, with the lord Mac Guire (who was also taken) Hugh Birne, captain Brian, O'Neale, and other Irish gentlemen were come on purpose to surprise the castle of Dublin, and that twenty men out of each county were to be there to join with them.—It is also said he added, That what was to be done in other parts of the country was so far advanced by that time that it was impossible for the wit of man to prevent it; that they had him in their power, and might use him as they pleased, but he was sure he should be revenged.

But though this timely discovery prevented the Irish from seizing on Dublin: yet their party had such success that the English lost most of the other places of strength in the kingdom, and though for ten days they forbore to fall upon the Scots, yet at last they also set upon them, says my author, making no distinction between British protestants; and by the first day of November, the protestants had very little left in Ulster, except

## HISTORY OF IRELAND.

Londonderry, Colerain, and Iniskilling, half the county of Down, and part of the county of Antrim, which the government was in ill condition to provide for or to relieve.

In the mean time, the lords justices resolved to do all in their power for the preservation of the remaining part of the kingdom, for the defence of which they were not able however at that juncture to number above three thousand men, whom they were forced to draw together at great trouble and hazard from places at a distance from each other. —These made Sir Francis Willoughby commander of the castle, and Sir Charles Coote, governor of the city, and sent Owen O'Conally with letters to the lord lieutenant, and Sir Henry Spotswood, with an express to the king, dispersing commissions to all such as they hoped would join them, amongst whom the catholics of the Pale were included, till afterwards finding these lords and their dependants to be ill affected to the cause themselves; the commissioners were recalled, and all the arms that had been sent to them, a great part of which latter however the government was never able to recover.

Owen O'Conally, the first discoverer of this plot had five hundred pounds in money, and two hundred a year settled upon him, and a pardon was sent over to be offered to the Irish. But by this time, Sir Phelim O'Neal and Rory Mac Guire had published from their camp at Newry, That they had a commission from the king of England under the great seal for what they had done, of which they sent copies to all their confederates, and whatever reason there might be to conclude this a false pretence, it is certain that it was productive of the greatest mischief both to his majesty, and likewise to the Irish catholics themselves who adopted it.

In

H I S

In t  
where  
ances,  
sion, th  
testants,  
intende  
lone the  
ness tha  
upon th  
tinually  
bringing

The l  
(Drogh  
design a  
it, on  
seemed  
Netervill  
ing the  
wards bi  
of affair  
with a  
from Du  
to the P

The  
Novemb  
the conc  
passed th

1. Th  
with supp

2. Th  
be provi  
that king

3. Th  
and two  
convenier  
Ireland.

4. Th  
both hou

In the interim, the forces of the rebels every where grew powerful. They complained of grievances, they produced their copies of the commission, they recriminated the accusations of the protestants, by speaking, in their turn, of an horrible intended massacre, for the prevention of which alone they had taken up arms, calling Heaven to witness that they were not guilty of the blood shed upon this occasion. And by these means they continually strengthened their hands, and were daily bringing over powerful persons to their confederacy.

The lord Moor had entered the town of Tredagh, (Drogheda) nevertheless the rebels having formed a design against that place, were likely to have carried it, on account of the propensity the inhabitants seemed to have for their cause, and of Sir John Neterville, who commanded a company there being the same way inclined; but doctor Jones afterwards bishop of Meath giving notice of this situation of affairs, Sir Henry Tichburn, was sent thither with a regiment of foot, and two troops of horse from Dublin, which arriving safe contributed much to the present security of the town.

The parliament of England, on the fourth of November, having prevailed on the king to put the conduct of the Irish war into their hands, passed the following votes.

1. That twenty thousand pounds should be forthwith supplied for the present occasions of Ireland.
2. That a convenient number of ships should be provided for the guarding of the sea-coasts of that kingdom.
3. That the house held it fit six thousand foot, and two thousand horse should be raised with all convenient speed for the present expedition into Ireland.
4. That the lord lieutenant should present to both houses of parliament such officers as he thought fit



## HISTORY OF IRELAND.

fit to be sent to Ireland to command any forces to be transported thither.

5. That magazines of victuals should forthwith be provided at Westchester to be sent over to Dublin, as the occasions of the kingdom should require.

6. That the magazines of arms, ammunition, and powder, then in Carlisle be forthwith sent over to Knockfergus in Ireland.

7. That it be referred to the king's council to consider of some fit way, and to present it to the house for a publication to be made of rewards to be given to such as should do service in the expedition into Ireland, and for a pardon of such of the rebels in Ireland as should come in by a time limited ; and of a sum of money to be appointed for a reward to such as should bring in the heads of such rebels as should be nominated.

8. That letters should be forthwith sent to the lords justices of Ireland, to acquaint them how sensible the house was of the affairs of Ireland.

9. That the committee of Irish affairs were to consider how and in what manner England should make use of the friendship and assistance of Scotland in the business of Ireland.

10. That directions should be given for the drawing of a bill for the pressing of this particular service of Ireland.

The king also sent some arms from Scotland to Sir Robert Stewart and others in Ulster, on the eighteenth of the same month, and other messages and expresses having been received concerning the miserable state of Ireland, the lord Montgomery had commission to raise one thousand foot, and three hundred horse ;—the lords justices were made acquainted that his majesty had left the management of the affairs of Ireland to the parliament of England, and a sum of money was sent them, together

gether with a commission to the earl of Ormond, appointing him lord lieutenant, as likewise was an order of both houses in the following words.

“ The lords and commons in this present parliament being advertised of the dangerous conspiracy and rebellion in Ireland, by the treacherous and wicked instigation of Romish priests and jesuits, for the bloody massacre and destruction of all protestants living there, and others of his majesty’s loyal subjects of English blood, though of the Romish religion, being ancient inhabitants within several counties and parts of that realm, who have always in former rebellions given testimony of their fidelity to this crown ; and for the utter depriving of his royal majesty and the crown of England of the government of that kingdom (*under pretence of setting up the popish religion*) have therefore taken into their serious consideration how those mischievous attempts might be most speedily and effectually prevented ; wherein the honour, safety, and interest of this kingdom are most nearly, and fully concerned. Wherefore they do hereby declare, that they do intend to serve his majesty with their lives and fortunes, for the suppressing of this wicked rebellion in such a way as should be thought most effectual by the wisdom and authority of parliament, and thereupon have ordered and provided for a present supply of money, and raising the number of six thousand foot, and two thousand horse, to be sent from England, being the full proportion desired by the lords justices and his majesty’s council resident in that kingdom ; with a resolution to add such farther succours as the necessity of those affairs shall require. They have also resolved on providing arms and munition, not only for those men, but likewise for his majesty’s faithful subjects in that kingdom with store of victuals and other necessaries, as there shall be

be occasion; and that those provisions may be more conveniently transported thither, they have appointed three several parts of this kingdom; that is to say, Bristol, Westchester, and one other in Cumberland; where the magazines and storehouses shall be kept, for the supply of the several parts of Ireland. They have likewise resolved to be humble mediators to his most excellent majesty for the encouragement of those English who shall, upon their own charges, raise any number of horse or foot for his service against the rebels, that they shall be honourably rewarded with lands of inheritance in Ireland, according to their merits. And, for the better inducing the rebels to repent of their wicked attempts, they do hereby commend it to the lieutenant of Ireland, or, in his absence, to the lord deputy, or lords justices there, according to the commission granted them in that behalf, to bestow his majesty's gracious pardon unto all such as within a convenient time (to be declared by the lord lieutenant, lord deputy, or lord justices and council of that kingdom) shall return to their due obedience, *the greatest part whereof, they conceive, have been seduced upon false grounds, by the cunning and subtle practices of some of the most malignant rebels, enemies to this state, and to the reformed religion;*—and likewise to bestow such rewards as shall be thought fit, and published by the lord deputy or lords justices and council, upon all those who shall arrest the persons, or bring in the heads of such traitors as shall be personally named in any proclamation published by the state there. And they do hereby exhort and require all his majesty's loving subjects, both in this and in that kingdom, to remember their duty and conscience to God, and his religion.—

But it may be proper to pause here for a while, to take a view of the situation of affairs in

H  
in E  
tachn  
a hig  
fence  
The  
shew  
instea  
to tro  
sion o  
These  
the S  
venan  
demio  
by so  
of his  
ligiou  
tred o  
posed  
their  
quifiti  
ful pr  
ed re  
privile  
messag  
permi  
Charle  
or any  
most  
from  
liamen  
his m  
The  
last a  
of the  
As  
liamen  
the I  
portu

in England. There Charles by a too rigid attachment to the rules of church-discipline, and a high notion of the prerogative, had given offence both to his Scotch and English subjects. The disobedience of the former he had made a shew of chastising, at the head of an army; but instead of effecting his purpose, was prevailed on to treat with the rebels, and to leave the conclusion of the matter to the care of commissioners. These commissioners betrayed his interests; and the Scots having framed a solemn league and covenant among themselves, the practice grew epidemical, and spread into England. There the king by some ill-concerted violations of the privilege of his parliament, and his continued zeal in religious matters, had drawn upon himself the hatred of the two houses; which being chiefly composed of sectaries, knew not where to stop in their resentments. Gratified in all their just requisitions, they still proceeded to abridge the lawful prerogatives of their monarch. They presented remonstrance after remonstrance, demanded privilege after privilege, reviled the king in their messages, insulted his servants and counsellors, and permitted the rabble to do the like; till, at length, Charles, finding that he was not safe among them, or any where so near to London, which was almost entirely disaffected, had withdrawn himself from Whitehall, whereupon his turbulent parliament had resolved that those who advised his majesty to such a measure were traitors.—The consequences of these proceedings was at last a civil war, which ended in the destruction of the king and the constitution of the land.

As the jealousies between the king and his parliament had begun before the commencement of the Irish rebellion; the latter, glad to find an opportunity of blackening their prince's character, readily



readily laid hold of that which offered by Sir Phelim O'Neal's so confidently asserting that he had the king's commission under the great seal for what he had done, and it was to clear himself from imputations of this kind more than for any other reason, that his majesty, at the request of the two houses, put the management of the Irish war into their hands, and thereby gave them an authority of levying soldiers, which they afterwards turned against himself.

With regard to the massacre itself, it is scarcely possible at this distance of time to be exact as to the number of protestants who fell; and indeed it is likely that there is some truth in the assertion "That, at first, the Irish did not proceed to such extremities of murder and cruelty, till the lords justices, alarmed at what they had heard was done, which doubtless was much exaggerated, gave orders to fall upon the catholics, who, (though indeed the first aggressors) afterwards revenged themselves upon their unhappy and defenceless fellow-subjects in the different provinces." Even the great lords among the English have not escaped censure for being too inattentive to the interests of their country, and rather seeking the estates of the insurgents than the suppression of the rebellion.—Nevertheless, taking all these things in the most favourable point of view, the perfidy and cruelty exercised by the Irish catholics towards the unoffending protestants are such as must render the names of those concerned in the dreadful work infamous to all posterity.—To repeat their barbarities would be to shock humanity.—To form an idea of their unbounded insolence it need only be remarked, that (as we have already said) they pretended the king's commission for their revolt, which was an absolute falsehood, and the seal which they pretended to  
affix

affix was otherwise obtained from an old patent or by some such sinister means; and thus, on all hands was their conduct unjustifiable.

Indeed I will allow that how guilty soever the Irish catholics were in this matter (I mean their principals) the puritan party were not entirely blameless; for, holding the ballance with an even hand, we shall find that their violent proceedings, and still more violent intentions, had really some share in causing, a still greater in excusing those outrages.—For though I am far from believing that the king countenanced the Irish rebellion, yet the measures of the sectaries did it far more effectually.—Their progress in England favoured by the parliament, was such as plainly shewed that they meant the destruction of the hierarchy, and the subversion of all religions and persuasions but their own.—Might not fears of this kind be communicated even to Ireland?—The catholics and my lord of Castlehaven loudly avowed that they were.—That the Irish lords and great chiefs feared a massacre is what cannot easily be credited, but that many of them might persuade their dependants such a matter was in agitation is not so unlikely, and every one may conclude what consequences must necessarily ensue from such a misrepresentation.—It is true, the catholics had cause to entertain the hopes of every rational liberty, from the king's moderation, which may make it wonderful that they should listen to such tales, if it were not considered, on the other hand, that they had every thing to apprehend from the parliament, who were at this time rising superior in interest to the king himself, on which account that matter of wonder will cease.—The ignorant Irish certainly in this case followed their superiors, and by the zeal with which the former engaged in the cause, while

while many of the latter were perpetually changing seems sufficient to authorize this observation.—

Another circumstance in which they were blameable was their throwing every obstacle in the king's way which might prevent him from suppressing the rebellion, and obliging him to recal his troops, whilst they were thundering out such dreadful vengeance against the rebels themselves, as was likely to drive them to the very gates of despair.

By such proceedings did the puritans defeat not only the purposes of the king, but what they most ardently wished should be considered as their own, embroiling England, and keeping Ireland in a state of confusion, eagerly listening to every thing advanced against Charles, though by men whom themselves could put no confidence in, and even treating with those whose principles they hated for the sake of gaining a petty advantage over their sovereign, at one time, whilst at another they disavowed these proceedings, and called Heaven to witness the integrity of their intentions. The tenor of their proceedings in England, some of which have been specified above, involved England and Ireland in numerous evils, and at last included themselves in the general ruin, and obliged those to submit to a real tyranny, who had been for many years declaiming against an imaginary one.—But, to return to the affairs of Ireland.—

When the government of that country found that the lords of the Pale were no longer to be trusted, and that almost all the catholics looked upon the rebellion as a common cause they found every day more and more the expediency of providing against the worst that might happen;—and accordingly they ordered by proclamation that Dublin should be fortified.

Sir Phelim O'Neal having taken Dundalk, marched to Lisnegarvy; but was there repulsed by  
the

the garrison of that place. Another party of the rebels sat down before Melifont, where they met with a brisk opposition; but the powder of the garrison being spent, the horse made their way through the enemy, and the foot surrendered.

The lords justices now again endeavoured to relieve Tredagh, for which purpose they sent six hundred new raised foot, and a troop of horse, but the Irish falling upon them at Gellingstown bridge, a smart engagement ensued, in which these new recruits were totally routed, leaving five hundred of their number dead upon the spot, a circumstance that much elevated the catholic party, and occasioned many to declare for their cause who had before through motives of policy declined it. And the lord Gormanstown on the second day of December, this year issued a warrant to the sheriff of Meath, to summon the catholic lords and gentry of that county to meet at the hill of Crofty, whither above a thousand of them accordingly repaired, and colonel Mac Mahon, Phillip O'Reily, and others came to them with a guard.—Whereupon (says Cox) the lords of the Pale riding towards them, with great formality demanded, "Why they came armed into the Pale." To which they replied "That they took up arms for liberty of conscience, and for maintaining his majesty's prerogative, of which they understood he was abridged; and to make the subjects of Ireland as free as those of England."—

The lord Gormanstown then demanded, Whether these were not pretences, and whether they had not some private ends of their own to answer? To which when they replied, That they had no private ends, but did it upon the above reasons; and professed great sincerity towards his lordship, he told them That seeing these were the true designs of the insurrection, he and all the rest would join with



with them. And it was then proclaimed, that whoever should deny such a junction, or refuse to assist them therein, they would account such person their enemy, and to the utmost of their power labour his destruction.

Nevertheless, what is very remarkable, tho' this was done publicly enough, the same author says, that the lords justices thought fit to dissemble their knowledge of the matter, (which however he calls *barefaced*) a conduct, that if it were followed, certainly nothing but the great weakness of the hands of government could account for. Nor can I help here observing, that if, as he asserts, the lords of the Pale were the first projectors of this rebellion, they might have engaged in it sooner, and with much less ceremony, in a manner that might have been as safe to themselves, and likely to prove of more benefit to the cause of the confederacy, which they had undertaken to defend. However that was, he says, that on the third of December, the lords justices and council wrote to these lords to come to Dublin, and consult for the security of the kingdom.—The lords of Kildare, Merion, and Louth obeyed this summons, but the rest had a meeting at the hill of Tarah, on the seventh of the same month, and (probably from a regard to their own personal safety) by advice of their lawyers, returned the following answer.

“ May it please your lordships,

“ We have received your letters of the third instant, intimating that you had present occasions to confer with us concerning the present state of the kingdom, and the safety thereof in these times of danger, and requiring us to be with you there on the eighth of this instant. We give your lordships to understand, that we have heretofore presented ourselves before your lordships, and free-  
ly

ly offered our advice and furtherance towards the particulars, which was by you neglected; which give us cause to conceive that our loyalty was suspected by you. We give your lordships further to understand, that we have received certain advertisements, that Sir Charles Coot, knight, of the council-board, hath uttered some speeches, tending to a purpose and a resolution to execute upon those of our religion a general massacre by which we are all deterred to wait on your lordships, not having any security for our safety from those threatened evils, or the safety of our lives, but do rather think it fit to stand upon our best guard, until we hear from your lordships how we shall be secured from these perils. Nevertheless, we all protest, That we are and will continue faithful advisers, and resolute furtherers of his majesty's service concerning the present state of this kingdom, and the safety thereof, to our best abilities. And so, with the said tender of our humble services we remain your lordships servants,

Fingall, Gormanstown, Slane, Dunsany,  
Nettervill, Oliver, Louth, Trimletstown."

And these lords as well as the rest of the confederates agreed to take an oath in manner and substance as follows :

" I *A. B.* do in the presence of Almighty God and all the saints and angels in heaven, promise, vow, swear, and protest to maintain and defend, as far as I may, with my life, power and estate, the public and free exercise of the true and Roman Catholic religion against all persons that shall oppose the same. I farther swear, That I will bear faith and true allegiance to our sovereign lord king Charles, his heirs and successors, and that I will defend him and them as far as I may, with my life, power and estate, against all such persons as shall attempt

attempt any thing against their royal persons, estates, honours and dignities, and against all such as shall, directly or indirectly, endeavour to suppress their royal prerogatives, or do any act or acts contrary to royal government, as also the power and privileges of parliament, the lawful rights and privileges of the subject, and every person that makes this vow, oath, and protestation in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful pursuance of the same. And, to my power as far as I may, I will oppose, and by all means and ways endeavour to bring to condign punishment, even to the loss of life, liberty, and estate, all such as shall either by force, practice, council, plots, conspiracies, or otherwise, do or attempt any thing to the contrary of any article, clause, or any thing in this present vow, oath, or protestations contained.— So God me help.”—

While these things were passing, the government was continually alarmed by the daily revolting of the catholics of their army to join the rebels, and now, easily conceiving the insurrection to be general, issued certain proclamations for the bringing in provisions to Dublin, for prohibiting soldiers from returning to England without licence, and for keeping all idlers and strangers out of the capital.

— And it should seem that these proclamations were necessary; for Dublin was partly blocked up on different sides by divers parties of the enemy, who took most of the walled towns in the kingdom, and having Naas and Trim in their hands, had advanced after with a body of forces on the one part to Swords, and on, the other, with four thousand of the county of Wicklow, within four miles of the city.

The king, at the requisition of the parliament of England had sent over proclamations, declaring the

H I  
the Ir  
ly for  
the w  
In Ja  
under  
veral  
of wh  
in a  
some  
a gre  
time  
procla  
at tha  
of los  
The  
by the  
fenced  
of the  
due th  
most  
from  
to Du  
absolu  
into th  
A  
lics ad  
if we  
did al  
with f  
with t  
troops  
yet th  
were  
the to  
Sir  
men t  
but c  
after



the Irish to be rebels, &c. But he had sent only forty of these, which however it appears was the whole number that the lords justices desired. In January the lord Ormond's regiment of foot, under lieutenant colonel Monk, together with several other regiments landed at Dublin, by means of which re-inforcements Ormond found himself in a condition of issuing out of Dublin, and by some successes he met with, drove the enemy to a greater distance from that capital, at the same time setting the price of a thousand pounds, by proclamation, on Sir Phelim O'Neale's head, who at that juncture thought himself in little danger of losing it.—

The siege of Tredagh was briskly carried on by the assailants, and the town was valiantly defended by the garrison. Many were the attempts of the Irish both by force and stratagem to subdue this town, which the lord Moor used his utmost endeavours to preserve, having even issued from thence, on a dark night, and gone in person to Dublin, to represent to the government the absolute necessity there was of throwing succours into the place.

A great part of the inhabitants being catholics added to the difficulties of the garrison; for, if we may believe the English historians, these did all in their power to weary and disturb them with false alarms, and besides held correspondence with the enemy; insomuch, that though the king's troops met with good success in several sallies, yet they found themselves but ill situated, and were more than once on the very point of losing the town.

Sir Henry Tichbourn arriving with a thousand men to the relief of the place is said to have been but coldly received by the inhabitants. And soon after his arrival above fourteen thousand of the rebels



rebels had sat down before it in form, against whom a party of the English sallied, but returned with little to boast of, having been only brought off in time by the governor's horse, which insisting to their assistance repulsed the besiegers, and saved them from being cut in pieces.

The rebels afterwards made a great assault upon the town, probably thinking to take it by storm, but were driven back; at which time the governor was so suspicious of the townsmen's fidelity that he ordered them all to keep within their houses, upon pain of death, till the attack was over.

Cox.

But another attempt of the Irish was afterwards made, that was much more likely to have answered their end than the former; if the circumstance was as it is related by my author.—A supply of provisions arriving in the harbour, most of the garrison rejoiced at the seasonable relief, drank to excess [being enticed thereto by the friars and other papists (says he) in shew of kindness,—as if it were *extraordinary* for soldiers long in want of provisions to commit excesses when it is in their power, without invitation or enticement] in consequence of which, when they were overcome with sleep and wine, the rebels hearing of it (resolved not to let this favourable opportunity slip) made a breach in the wall in an obscure place, and entered with five hundred men, marching with all secrecy, as far as the quay, where they set up a general shout, thinking the town was their own; but the governor coming down from his chamber, with only his pistols in his hand, caused a drum to beat to arms, and having assembled a number of soldiers about him, with the assistance of the lord Moor, repulsed the Irish, with the loss of two hundred of their men. At the same time, in order to retort the  
stratagem

stratagem  
to play  
person  
aloud,  
ral of  
of a g  
soners.

How  
little e  
before  
it to b  
certainl  
than fl  
ception  
were th  
to repu  
were su  
sand m  
scheme  
and for  
marked  
same fo  
the sarr  
garrison  
but a f  
to the  
panions,  
were th  
have be  
inhabita  
lies bei  
vent th  
lieve th  
of false  
lice, to  
too muc  
dagh w  
Vol.

stratagem, the garrison placed pipers on the walls to play, whilst others tossed up their caps, and personating a party of the enemy, cried out aloud, "The town is our own," whereby several of the Irish that only waited for the opening of a gate, made haste in, and were taken prisoners.

However it must be owned, this account is a little extraordinary : for if the breach were made before the morning above-mentioned, how came it to be at all deserted, and if it were *then* made, certainly the garrison must be nearer to death than sleep, if none of them had any sensible perception of it.—And when five hundred men were thus admitted, it could be no easy matter to repulse them ; more especially since if there were such a number of the besiegers, five thousand might as well have followed, and if the scheme had been concerted with such regularity and forecast, that the catholic houses were even marked with chalk ; it is strange that by the same forecast, divers attacks were not made at the same time in order to divert and distract the garrison.—On the whole, it is most likely that but a few of the enemy found means to get into the town unknown to the rest of their companions, and unexpectedly to themselves, who were therefore easily repulsed, which could not have been the case if they were favoured by the inhabitants ; and as to the houses of the catholics being said to be marked with chalk to prevent their sharing in the intended massacre, I believe that may safely be ranked with that sort of false tales, the growth of ignorance and malice, to which both parties at that time gave but too much encouragement. Be it as it may, Tre-dagh was not taken, nor do I find that any of

the inhabitants joined that part of the army which assaulted it.

Yet the town was much reduced by famine, and again attacked by Sir Phelim O'Neal, who endeavoured to take it by scalade, but the garrison consisted of such good soldiers, commanded by such experienced officers as rendered this effort also vain; and in this their greatest necessity they received a supply of provisions, which tended much to encourage them in their defence of the place; afterwards they made some successful sallies, and these at last terminated in obliging the rebels to raise the siege; which being unknown to the earl of Ormond, he marched out of Dublin, with one thousand foot, and five hundred horse to its relief; but finding the business done to his hand, after he had re-inforced the lord Moor, laid waste the lands in the county of Meath, and burned great part of the Pale, he returned upon business to Dublin.

— Afterwards the lord Moor and Sir Henry Tichburn skirmished with the Irish, and defeated them; and encouraged by their success the English troops advanced to Dundalk towards the latter end of March. The town was fortified with a double ditch, and had a bog on the one side, and the sea on the other: nevertheless the assailants found means to force the gate, and entering the town with their horse pursued the Irish on a full gallop, till, at the end of one of the streets, they unexpectedly received a severe check from about five hundred of them, who had mounted some pieces of brass ordnance, and were obliged to retreat by the same way that they came, with the loss of ensign Fortescue, and many soldiers, who were slain by the guns from a fort at the end of that street. On this the English

set fir  
wind  
volum  
ver o  
up the  
ing sa  
tory r

Sir  
other  
defeat  
ner u  
whom  
O'Neal  
the m  
Enrage  
frequ  
himself  
ing w  
cause  
dopted  
days it  
steels  
vage;  
from  
can ex  
The l  
more  
people  
free fr  
rent; f  
well in  
over in  
fered,  
convict  
Nay, w  
vailed,  
were tr  
and m



set fire to some houses near that fort, and the wind favouring them the smoke blew in such volumes towards it, that the besiegers under cover of the darkness came close enough to blow up the gate with gunpowder; and this castle being taken, the town was deserted, and clear victory remained to the English.

Sir Phelim O'Neal is said upon this and many other occasions, when his countrymen suffered a defeat, to have revenged it in a barbarous manner upon the helpless protestants in his power, whom he murdered without mercy. Sir Phelim O'Neal's conduct indeed was such as none but the most bigotted of his party could defend.—Enraged by repeated disappointments, and the frequent defeats of those in whom he trusted, himself being of a fierce disposition, and contending with a blind zeal for what he deemed the cause of religion, it is not wonderful that he adopted such practices at that time, which in these days it is shocking to reflect on.—War naturally steels the heart of man; civil war makes it savage;—and when that civil war is commenced from *religious* motives, there is no name that can express the diabolical disposition it imbibes.—The Irish during the whole contest were the more cruel, because they were the more bigotted people, yet that the other party was not entirely free from a charge of the like nature is apparent; for, (not to mention the behaviour of Cromwell in a future period) even before his coming over into the island, many of the Irish had suffered, who neither fell in war, nor were legally convicted, nor even condemned by martial law. Nay, when the republican government at last prevailed, and about one hundred and fifty Irish were tried, condemned and executed for murders and massacres, some of their countrymen said,



That they acknowledged there had been murders committed in Ireland, and that there was nothing they more ardently desired than that the accused of each party should be tried for those crimes, and equal justice done upon both, which, however, they added, could not be expected while their enemies were the judges.—I have already said, that after all the catholics can advance, the Irish massacre of the protestants was perfidious, unprovoked, *in regard to the persons on whom it was executed*, and even shocking to humanity; yet after this first piece of barbarity, it is highly probable much more might have been avoided, if not the whole rebellion suppressed, had not the pardon published at Dublin made the time too short for the Irish to come in from the distant provinces to accept it, and which was worse, limited it *to such only as were not possessed of a freehold*, whereby all the persons of consequence were kept still in rebellion; and, as for the lower class, they could not generally be expected to do otherwise than to follow their leaders. Now as these restrictions are said not to have been made by his majesty, but by the lords justices, it is not wonderful that, whatever were *their* motives, their opponents should fix upon them the scandal of wishing to keep the men of property in the rebellion, that they might stand a chance of sharing their forfeited estates.

The lords and gentlemen, of the Pale at this time retiring from the English, went into Ulster, where they and Sir Phelim O'Neal had great disputes. In short the differences of *Old and New* Irish was brought up, which created much animosity; and in the midst of these disputes the lord Gormanstown died.

While these things passed in the Pale and in Ulster, Munster and Connaught had their share in

HI  
in the  
many  
desolat  
wherev  
a body  
genera  
which  
temper  
All  
Englan  
fire of  
porting  
the la  
(in wh  
though  
hindere  
their p  
tend to  
peevish  
spoke  
observe  
illegally  
soldiers  
by obs  
over in  
the inn  
acting v  
Ireland.  
ther th  
serted t  
necessar  
were rel  
and to  
Neve  
so remi  
Irish af  
the stat  
tain Sco

in the depredations, and in each of these places many were murdered, more slain in the field, and desolation spread over the country; nevertheless, wherever the English could collect themselves in a body, they made a stand; and the consequence generally was their surrendering upon articles,—which were kept or broken according to the tempers of those whom they had to deal with.

All this time both the king and parliament of England had equally expressed the greatest desire of relieving the Irish protestants, and supporting the government of that country; but the latter, notwithstanding all their professions (in which, being mostly puritans, one would have thought they had been in earnest) now rather hindered than helped the service, and whenever their prince offered to do any thing which might tend to this purpose, they answered him by some peevish message, or ill-timed remonstrance. If he spoke of supplies necessary for the service, they observed upon the sums of money expended or illegally raised; if he urged them about raising soldiers to suppress the insurrection, they answered by observing that some papist or other had gone over into Ireland, or passed some votes against the innocent catholics in England, instead of acting vigorously against such as were in arms in Ireland. They affected to adopt persecution rather than fighting, though the former was asserted to have raised, and the latter was become necessary to quell the rebellion. In effect, they were resolved in every thing to thwart the king, and to perplex his ministers.

Nevertheless, that they might not be thought so remiss as they really were in regard to the Irish affairs, after repeated messages concerning the state of that kingdom, they treated with certain Scotch commissioners concerning some propositions

sitions for the relief of the government there, and also revived the scheme of adventurers which was generally so odious to the native Irish.

In regard to this latter circumstance, it was a matter which perhaps could scarcely be otherwise excused than by the exigency of the times, and which was more likely at any other period to do harm than good, as a people who saw their estates and possessions thus parcelled out, and given away (even before they were legally forfeited) by the government, might not be unlikely to conceive that nothing less than their total extirpation was intended. It is indeed true that this scheme had been adopted before, but it is as true that the Irish had taken every opportunity to resent it, and to recover the lands when thus given away for some of the natives, either by stratagem or force of arms, which had cost the lives of many Englishmen.—However as this was thought no time to stand upon nice considerations, the parliament addressed themselves in the matter to the avarice of the people, and had they all along seconded this scheme by powerful supplies, when the management of the war was committed to their charge, it is probable they would have prevailed sooner.

With regard to the first article, a treaty being entered into with the Scots, the following propositions were offered to the consideration of both houses of parliament.

“ Concerning the proposition made to us on the twenty-second of January, from the committees of both houses for the transporting presently to Ireland of the ten thousand five hundred men now in Scotland; we having no instructions for that end, cannot by ourselves condescend otherwise than upon the closure of the treaty; but shall most heartily represent it to the council of Scotland

Scot  
desire  
may  
dom,  
this.  
move  
desire

1.

to C  
reason

2.

be p  
the s

3.

of th  
power  
to en  
the c  
their  
of th  
any r  
join v  
comm

4.

be pr  
ammu  
them  
be sen  
same

5.

of the  
to us  
these  
five h  
ing of  
it it



Scotland; and second the same with our earnest desires, that every thing may be done, which may contribute to the preservation of that kingdom, and may testify our brotherly affection to this. And that we may be the more able to move the council to condescend to the same, we desire the propositions following to be granted.

1. That provision of victuals be presently sent to Carrickfergus to be sold to our soldiers at reasonable rates, answerable to their pay.

2. That an order be set down, how they shall be paid there, and from whom they may require the same.

3. That they have the command and keeping of the town and castle of Carrickfergus, with power to them to remain still within the same, or to enlarge their quarters and to go abroad into the country upon such occasions as their officers in their discretion shall think expedient for the good of that kingdom. And if it shall be thought fit any regiments or troops in that province shall join with them, that they receive orders from the commanders of our forces.

4. That provision of match, powder, and ball be presently sent to Carrickfergus, and what arms, ammunition or artillery shall be sent over with them from Scotland, that the like quantity shall be sent from hence to Scotland, whensoever the same shall be demanded.

5. That a part of the thirty thousand pounds of the brotherly assistance be presently advanced to us, which although in a just proportion to these men, it will amount but to seven thousand five hundred pounds, yet for the better farthering of the service, we desire ten thousand pounds, if it may stand with your convenience.



6. That their pay, which was condescended unto from the eighth of December, be presently advanced to the eighth of February next, against which time we are confident they shall be ready to march.

7. That a man of war or some merchants ships be sent from Bristol, Westchester, or Dublin, to Lochryan for a safe convoy and guard of the passage, because they being in open boats may be subject to inconveniences from the enemy, whose frigates, we hear, are towards that coast.

8. That the sending over of these men be without prejudice to the proceedings of the treaty, which we desire may go on without any delay."

Which propositions were well received by the parliament, only his majesty disapproved of the third article, relative to Carrickfergus; whereupon the Scots waited upon him; and these observing, That it was only a matter of trust which was in debate, they hoped he, who was their native king, would not shew less confidence in them than the English, Charles consented to this article also, and so the business proceeded.

And as to the scheme of the adventurers, the parliament regulated the plan of it by passing the following vote:

"The lords and commons taking into their serious consideration, as well the necessity of a speedy reducing of the rebels of Ireland to their due obedience, as also the great sums of money that the commons of this realm have of late paid for the public and necessary affairs of the kingdom, whereof the lords and commons are very sensible, and desirous to embrace all good and honourable ways, tending to his majesty's greatness and profit, the settling of that realm, and the ease of his majesty's subjects of England: And  
whereas

whereas  
perceiving  
rebels in  
the name  
disposed  
of acres  
that kind  
tion of  
of money  
it would  
made the

1. Th  
may be  
them af

For e  
one thou  
pounds,  
hundred  
Munster  
acres in  
sure, and  
fitable p  
mountain  
two mill  
free and  
tle of Dr

2. Th  
of acres,  
crown of

Out of e

3. Th  
waite and  
nisters, c  
of the se

whereas divers worthy and well affected persons perceiving that many millions of acres of the rebels lands of that kingdom, which go under the name of *profitable lands* will be confiscated and so disposed of: and that in case two millions and a half of acres equally taken out of the four provinces of that kingdom may be allotted for the satisfaction of such persons as shall disburse any sums of money for the reducing of the rebels there, it would effectually accomplish the same, have made these propositions ensuing:

1. That two millions and a half of those acres may be assigned, allotted, and divided amongst them after these proportions, *viz.*

For each adventurer of two hundred pounds, one thousand acres in Ulster;—of three hundred pounds, one thousand acres in Connaught;—four hundred and fifty pounds, one thousand acres in Munster;—of six hundred pounds, one thousand acres in Leinster; all according to English measure, and consisting of meadow, arable, and profitable pasture; the bogs, woods, and barren mountains being cast in over and above these two millions and a half of acres; to be holden in free and common soccage of the king, as of his castle of Dublin.

2. That out of these two millions and a half of acres, a constant rent shall be reserved to the crown of England after this proportion, *viz.*

Out of each acre thereof in	{	Ulster	1 d.
		Connaught	1—ob.
		Munster	2—q.
		Leinster	3—

3. That for the erecting of manors, filling of waite and commons, maintaining of preaching ministers, creating of corporations, and regulating of the several plantations, one or more commissions

sions he hereafter granted by authority of parliament.

4. That the moneys for this great occasion may be the more speedily advanced, all the undertakers in the city of London, and within twenty miles distance thereof shall underwrite their several sums before the twentieth day of March, sixteen hundred and forty-one, and all within sixty miles of London, before the first day of April, sixteen hundred and forty-two, and the rest of the kingdom before the first day of May, sixteen hundred and forty-two.

5. That the several sums to be under-written shall be paid in at four payments, *viz.* one fourth part within ten days after such under-writing, and the other three parts at three months, three months, and three months; all to be paid into the chamber of London.

6. That for the better security of the said several sums, accordingly every one that doth so under-write shall at the time of his subscription pay the twentieth part of the total sum that shall be by him then under-written. And, in case that the residue of his first fourth part be not paid in to such person or persons as shall be appointed to receive the same within the ten days before limited, then such party shall not only forfeit the twentieth part of the sum total formerly deposited, but so much more of his first fourth payment—to be added thereunto, as shall make up the one moiety of the said first payment. And if the said person shall fail in any other of the three payments, he shall then forfeit his entire first fourth, and all the benefit of his subscription, which forfeiture shall accrue to the common benefit of the rest of the undertakers.

The lords and commons upon due and mature deliberation on these propositions, have approved of them, and given their consent unto the same, and will become humble petitioners to his ma-

jeſty

jeſty for  
hereafter  
of both  
aſſent to  
for the  
things n

On t  
jeſty re  
ing, tha  
he cor.  
out tak  
might n  
aſperati  
of being  
obedienc

Theſe  
this ſch  
whole p  
laid dow  
conſider  
tenſive o  
gents.

But  
the kin  
theleſs  
not gro  
the kin  
tend in  
by the  
been m  
tions of  
prifoned  
mere n  
were no  
treated  
letters o  
of thoſe  
conceiv

jeſty for his royal approbation thereof, and that hereafter he will be pleaſed upon the humble ſuit of both houſes of parliament, to give his royal aſſent to ſuch bills as they ſhall tender unto him for the ſettling of thoſe propoſitions, and all other things neceſſarily conducing thereunto.

On the twenty-fourth day of February his ma- jeſty returned his approbation of theſe votes, ſay- ing, that, “relying on the wiſdom of parliament he conſented to every propoſition made him, with- out taking time to conſider *whether this courſe might not retard the reducing the kingdom, by ex- aſperating the rebels, and rendering them deſperate of being received into grace, if they ſhould return to obedience.*—

Theſe were his words, and certain it is, that this ſcheme of the adventurers, together with the whole plan of the buſineſs of reducing Ireland, as laid down by the parliament of England, muſt be conſidered as moſt impolitic, *without the moſt ex- tenſive offer of pardon being firſt made to the inſur- gents.*

But offers of this kind were actually made by the king, and affected by the two houſes, never- theleſs we find many complaints, and (to ſay truth, not groundleſs ones) of the Iriſh, That whatever the king and parliament of England might in- tend in this matter, their deſigns were fruſtrated by the lords juſtices and others in power (as has been mentioned above) that beſides their limita- tions of the pardon, many who came in were im- priſoned and puniſhed, and many who through mere neceſſity countenanced an inſurrection they were not furniſhed with the means to oppoſe, were treated in the ſame manner, as appears from the letters of the duke of Ormond, and other papers <sup>Carte.</sup> of thoſe times. But becauſe the king, poſſibly conceiving ſomething of all this, was inclined to be



be rather more moderate in his proceedings than the parliament, the latter broke forth into the most indecent and illiberal invectives against him, protesting that they could bring proofs that those concerned in the Irish rebellion said, "That they had entered into it, and would join in that or any other insurrection to recover his majesty's royal prerogative."—Which extraordinary article being inserted in their declaration, presented to their monarch at Newmarket, he took all possible pains by words and actions to endeavour to refute these assertions, and declared himself ready to do every thing proper for expediting the business of Ireland, even to the hazarding his own royal person in that service.

But the consequence was that this *very wise and just* assembly resolved, That those who advised his majesty to send *such messages* were enemies to the peace of England, and were justly to be suspected to be favourers of the rebellion in Ireland.—With such a set of men, it was impossible to come to a right understanding without absolutely altering the form of established constitution, a circumstance which Charles was apprized of when it was too late.—But about this time, their repeated demands and increasing arrogance gave him clearly to understand that they would never be satisfied with asking while he had any thing left to yield them, and that their uniform design was that of overthrowing both the civil and ecclesiastical establishment of his kingdoms.

It is easy to conceive that these dissensions in England must much retard the progress of the war in Ireland, in which if the parliament were really so much in earnest as they wished to be thought, it behoved them to have been contented with the king's concessions, to have taken any rational

H I  
tional  
knew a  
abilities  
heart w  
point, v  
great c  
were on  
the reve  
ciliation  
in rend  
must ne  
terests o  
to the f  
demago  
I doubt  
Irish ca  
religion)  
more ze  
their so  
England  
so stead  
directly  
Turks  
plished i  
infamy u  
In Ap  
mond m  
soldiers l  
with all  
went for  
cars und  
surprised  
off, by v  
state and  
thelefs p  
some for  
the enem

tional security for those liberties, which they well knew at that time he had neither inclination nor abilities to overturn, and to have joined hand and heart with their monarch to carry this favourite point, which they all along asserted to be of so great consequence:—on the contrary, while they were on one hand, using all their power to irritate the revolvers and to preclude all manner of reconciliation; they were, on the other, as much busied in rendering the condition of England, such as must necessarily terminate in a desertion of the interests of Ireland, where the protestants were exposed to the fury of those very men, whom these restless demagogues had taken so much pains to enrage. I doubt not indeed, but these puritans hated the Irish catholics (not as *rebels*, but on the score of *religion*) but there was something which they still more zealously hated, and that was the interest of their sovereign and of the established church of England, and the overthrow of which they were so steadily resolved, that they would have indirectly favoured the cause of Papists, Jews, Turks or Infidels rather than not have accomplished it,—a consideration that must reflect eternal infamy upon their memory.

In April this year, the lieutenant general Ormond marched to Naas, and having lost some soldiers by the garrison of Tipper, caused the castle with all that were in it to be blown up, and then went forwards, sending his wounded men upon cars under a guard to Dublin; but these being surprised by the Irish on their way were all cut off, by which accident the intercourse between the state and the army was stopped, which last nevertheless proceeded through the country, relieving some forts of their own, and destroying many of the enemy; and in this expedition Sir Charles Coor,

A. D.  
1642.

Cox.

Coot (the inveterate foe to the Irish) so far distinguished himself, that the title of earl of Montrath was intailed upon his posterity,

On the lieutenant general's return toward Dublin, setting out from Athy, as he held on his way, the Irish appeared on his right, keeping the same track, with an intention to intercept him, and thus both armies marched on till they came to a place where these two roads, which before were divided by a bog, met: and there the lieutenant general thought fit to draw up his men in order of battle, fearing that if he declined this opportunity of engaging (which however was not of his own seeking) the enemy would fall upon his rear. An engagement ensuing, the English got the better, and forced their opponents to retire, after which the former marched back in safety to Dublin.

And after this action, Sir Philip lord Lisle arrived at Dublin, who accompanied by old Sir Charles Coote relieved the castle of Geashill, and atchieved some exploits in the field. These having forced Trim, Sir Charles advised to make a garrison of it, to consult concerning which matter, the lord Lisle with a party of horse went to Dublin, and the Irish the next night attacking the place to the number of three thousand, though they were repulsed, yet Sir Charles was slain in the attempt.

The earl of Ormond having in June received a re-inforcement, marched to relieve Athlone, and having met with good success on his way and taken several places, the Irish burned Molinger and Ballymore and their army withdrew, upon which the lieutenant general returned to Dublin.

The Irish parliament meeting on the twenty-first June, the lower house voted, That the oath of supremacy should be tendered to all their members, for which purpose a bill being framed, was sent over into England; and they proceeded be-

sides

sides to  
power,  
confede  
the cou  
which h  
that tim  
In the  
every d  
had fet  
had ref  
the for  
after an  
tants a  
five tho  
ment.—  
little h  
tants in  
much o  
tend to  
try.

The  
commis  
dom an  
how th  
furnishe  
arriving  
cil, and  
a subsc  
to take  
certain  
they w  
sooner,  
victory  
by this  
the par  
by the  
but va  
especial



sides to chuse members for those places in their power, whose representative had joined the general confederacy, and besides this, the lord justices and the council revoked and repealed all protections which had been given to any of the rebels before that time.

In the mean while, the affairs of England grew every day more and more embarrassed.—The king had set up his standard, and the demagogues had resolved upon war, Charles had encountered the forces of the parliament at Edge-hill, where after an obstinate dispute, night parted the combatants and both sides claimed the victory, above five thousand men having been slain in the engagement.—After the sword was thus drawn, there was little hope of relief for the government or protestants in Ireland from either party, both being too much employed in annoying each other, to attend to what was passing in that unhappy country.

The parliament, however, sent over certain commissioners to enquire into the state of the kingdom and the condition of the army, and to see how their money was disposed of. “These were furnished with some money and ammunition; and arriving in Dublin were well received by the council, and made a book (says Cox) which contained a subscription of most of the officers of the army, to take debentures on the forfeited lands for a certain proportion of their pay, as believing that they would fight the better, and end the war the sooner, if they were interested in the fruits of the victory as well as in the quarrel.”—But the king, by this time finding how little he had to hope from the parliament of England, perplexed as he was by the rebels of one of his kingdoms, thought it but vain to drive to despair those of the other, especially as his necessities obliged him to think of recalling



recalling his own troops from abroad, to assist him at home, whereby the state in Ireland must be at all events more and more endangered, since the two houses were not so willing to employ their forces in the Irish service, as to turn them against their prince. For these reasons, and because he was offended at the deportment of the commissioners (who had sat covered in the council chamber) Charles sent the lords justices a reprimand, and positively ordered that the new-comers should quit the kingdom, which they did accordingly on the twenty-seventh of February, to the great displeasure of the parliament, who affected to take great care of those affairs, which in effect they at this time had not so much at heart, as others of a very different nature.

The Irish under general Preston besieging Ballynakill, colonel Monk was sent to relieve that place, upon which the enemy raised the siege, but waited in a pass where they might commodiously intercept him and his army on their return to Dublin. And they did so, nevertheless they were defeated, and the English returned in safety.—Sir Richard Grenvill also marching to raise the siege of Athloan, having effected his purpose was encountered in his way back by the enemy, who were superior in numbers to his forces, but whom he routed, taking general Preston's son prisoner, and killing above two hundred of their soldiers.

In November, sixteen hundred and forty-two, the lords justices transmitting a petition from the confederate catholics of Ireland, requesting his Majesty to hear their grievances; and accordingly Thomas Burk one of the confederates, brought over a commission of that kind which he delivered at the council board. By this instrument the marquis of Ormond, the lords of Clanricard and Roscommon, Sir Martin Eustace and others were empowered,

ed to  
whom  
lord C  
Talbo  
from t  
was pr  
of Ap  
ly div  
Puritan  
have t  
order t  
france  
ingende  
liament  
pression  
Never  
glecting  
ed an  
of Sir  
colonel  
received  
“ T  
that mo  
for the  
hath by  
be affor  
positions  
that ha  
at first r  
of parli  
motion,  
some pro  
petitione  
port to  
conveyed  
find ten  
war and  
messages  
Vol.

ed to hear their complaints.—The three last of whom went for this purpose to Trim, where the lord Gormanstown, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Robert Talbot, and John Walsh, in quality of agents from the catholics, presented a remonstrance which was produced to the Irish parliament in the month of April, “where (says Cox) the English unluckily dividing into the factions of Protestant and Puritan (*it was indeed unlucky that ever they should have been any where so divided*) the former, in order to back this argument against that remonstrance, compared it to the Scotch covenant, which ingendered such heats in the house, that the parliament was prorogued on account of that expression.”

Nevertheless the protestant army still not neglecting to solicit their affairs in England, presented an address to the king at Oxford, by the hands of Sir James Montgomery, Sir Hardress Waller, colonel Hill and colonel Mervin, to which they received from his majesty the following answer.

“THAT his majesty hath since the beginning of that monstrous rebellion, had no greater sorrow than for the bleeding of that his kingdom, and as he hath by all means laboured that timely relief might be afforded to the same, and consented to all propositions (how disadvantageous soever to himself) that have been offered him for that purpose, and, at first recommended their condition to both houses of parliament, and immediately of his own mere motion, sent over several commissions, and caused some proportion of arms and ammunition, which the petitioners well know to have been a great support to the northern parts of that kingdom, to be conveyed to them out of Scotland, and offered to find ten thousand volunteers to undertake that war and hath often since pressed, by many several messages that sufficient succours might be hasten-

Vol. II. F ed

ed thither, and other matters of smaller importance laid by, which divert it, and offered and most really intended in his own royal person, to have undergone the danger of that war, for the defence of his good subjects, and the chastisement of those perfidious and barbarous rebels; and in his several expressions of his desires of treaty and peace, hath declared the miserable present condition, and certain future loss of Ireland, to be one of his principal motives most earnestly to desire that the present distractions of this kingdom might be composed, and that others would concur with him in the same end.—So his majesty is well pleased that his offers, concurrence, actions, and expressions are so rightly understood by the petitioners, and those who have employed them, notwithstanding the groundless and horrid aspersions which have been cast upon him;—but wishes that instead of a more general complaint (to which his majesty can make no return but of compassion) they could have digested and offered to him any such desires by consenting to which he might convey, at least in some degree, comfort and life to that gasping kingdom, preserve his distressed and loyal subjects of the same from inevitably perishing, and the true protestant religion from being scorned and trampled upon by these merciless and idolatrous rebels. And if the petitioners can yet think on any such, and propose it to his majesty, he assures them, That by his readiness to consent, and his thanks to them for the proposal, he will make it appear to them, that their most pressing personal sufferings cannot make them more desirous of relief, than his care of the true religion, and of his faithful subjects, and of that duty which obliges him to his power to protect both, renders him desirous to afford it to them.”

—With

—W  
might  
the Eng  
perceive  
for any

The  
an orde  
bring in  
money,  
grew f  
uation  
dred p  
brought  
and the  
of futu  
would b

To  
remaine  
became  
which  
endeavo  
consequ  
Ormon  
three t  
places,  
a breac  
assault,  
general  
under h  
abandon  
beginni  
horse,  
trayed  
nick, f  
a larger  
mond  
even o  
ber of



—With the words of which answer the agents might be well enough satisfied, but the state of the English nation was such, that they might easily perceive there was little ground for them to hope for any considerable benefit from its assistance.

The want of proper supplies in Dublin occasioned an order to be issued for the citizens of Dublin to bring in half their plate to be coined, and where money, which is reckoned the very sinews of war, grew so slack, the lords justices thought their situation an extremely dangerous one. Twelve hundred pounds worth (and no more) of plate was brought in, in consequence of this proclamation, and there was besides so unpromising a prospect of future affairs, that all apprehended government would be soon reduced to the last extremity.

To add to the misfortune, the army, whilst it remained in Dublin, were much straitened, and became very troublesome to the inhabitants on which account it was resolved that they should endeavour at enlarging their quarters, and, in consequence of that resolution the marquis of Ormond left that city in March, at the head of three thousand men, and having taken some other places, at length came before Ross, and making a breach in the walls, endeavoured to take it by assault, but the attempt miscarried; and afterwards general Preston coming up with the Irish army under his command, the English were obliged to abandon the siege, and give him battle. In the beginning of the action a party of Ormond's horse, either suspecting that the general had betrayed them, or being struck with a sudden panic, fled, which was sufficient to have dismayed a larger army, nevertheless we are told that Ormond stood his ground with his infantry, and even obtained the victory. However, as the number of the enemy's slain was not considerable, and



as we hear nothing of Ormond's return to the siege, it is likely that all the advantage he gained was only that of forcing his way through them, which indeed was a considerable thing, considering that their numbers nearly doubled his.

— In the mean time the protestants and the confederates had frequent skirmishes in the different provinces, with various success, to give a particular detail of which must necessarily prove tedious to the reader. Suffice it to say, that where the numbers were nearly equal, victory generally declared for the former, who were for the most part better armed and disciplined than their enemies.— Yet having so little hope of supplies of men as they had at present, it seem'd apparent their men must at last be overpowered by the storm which was every where bursting upon them.

The Scots arriving at Ulster, had Carrickfergus delivered into their hands, and made Coleraine and the country round their quarters, and afterwards issuing forth, they defeated the Irish, took Newry, and hanged and put to the sword many of their enemies, in revenge, as they said, for what their countrymen had suffered by them.— Afterwards they marched to Ardmagh, which the Irish burned, murdering according to some very moderate accounts no less than *five thousand* protestants, whom they had in their power. The reader may form his own opinion of the likelihood of this matter; for my part I scruple not to pronounce it an absolute falsity. Indeed I am so far from crediting these bloody tales, that I do not see any reason to suppose there were five thousand, or even five hundred protestants murdered during the whole Irish war, unless those who were slain in battle are added to swell the account.

The successes of the Scots continued, and they were every where victorious till Owen Roe O'Neal came

came over from foreign parts into Ireland, which was his native place, at whose arrival his countrymen in general were beyond measure rejoiced, and he afterwards altered the face of affairs in Ulster.

Whilst all these things were passing, the confederate catholics had planned a kind of government of their own, of which it may not be amiss here to give the reader some idea.

How much soever these associates differed in political as well as in religious principles from the parliamentarians of England, yet like them (though with the greatest professions of loyalty to his majesty) they seemed bent upon setting up a republic, which was to be ruled by their own members, independant of the established government of the country; and to this form of a commonwealth they were resolved most strictly to adhere, at least till they could get their own terms by war or treaty, or were themselves totally subdued by force of arms.

For these purposes their titular clergy first assembled at Kilkenny, and made several rules relative to the establishment of such order as they wished might prevail among them; and did there resolve, That peace should not be made but with the common consent of all the provinces; that adversaries to one town or province should be so to all; that an oath should be taken to that purpose, and that all refusers of that oath should be held enemies, and in consequence should be prosecuted as such by the confederacy.

After this there was a general assembly of the lords spiritual and temporal, and others the representatives of the confederates at Kilkenny, who made many other ordinances among which were the following;

F 3

“ That

“ That the popish church in Ireland should enjoy all privileges according to Magna Charra, and that the common law of England, and all statutes not inconsistent with the freedom of religion, and the liberty of the subject should be of force.—

That allegiance should be continued to the king; and his prerogative supported. That the laws should be executed as well as the circumstance of war, and the absence from Dublin would permit.—

That a supreme council of twenty-four should be established, twelve whereof were constantly to reside, and one of them to be President, and nine to be a quorum, of which seven were to concur, to make any vote obligatory, and if a greater number were present, than two thirds to agree. This council was to have authority over all officers civil and military, to name sheriffs, provost-marsbals, &c. and to do any thing for the advantage of the cause. They were likewise to determine capital causes, and all other matters, except titles of lands, and were to have a guard of five hundred foot, and two hundred horse.

They also erected provincial and county-councils, enacting, “ That the former might receive appeals from the latter, and try causes as the judges of assize and goal-delivery were used to do, but not to meddle with titles of lands, except dowers, and jointures. And the county councils were to have the power of sessions of peace, and an additional authority to determine personal affairs.—

The sheriff in each county was to be provost-marsbal, and might execute any man not worth five pounds, for any capital offence, giving the offender twenty-four hours time, wherein to prepare his soul.”

They ordained also, “ That every one should quit the possession he had wrongfully gotten, and, to avoid

HIS  
avoid d  
they w  
unless su

They  
enemy  
had be  
of the  
should  
clergy.  
should  
tion sho  
vants w

They  
the mor  
the Eng  
them (t  
ber; th  
commit  
sent fro  
pointed  
examine  
goods,  
should  
puritani

The  
Sir Luc  
guire an  
appoint  
the pre  
administ  
ioner, a  
to be so  
ment in  
sons of

At th  
vide for  
dinances  
ships sh



avoid debate, That all estates should continue as they were possessed for the three last years past, unless such the title were determined or redeemed.

They ordered also that the popish wife of an enemy should sue and be sued as if her husband had been naturally dead, and that the possessions of the protestant clergy in right of the church should be deemed the possessions of the catholic clergy. That no man imprisoned by one council should be released by another, and that no protection should be given to the enemy or their servants without special order.

They also ordered proclamation to be made in the month of October, to invite all the *adherents of the English*, of what nation soever, to come over to them (the confederates) by the last day of November; they ordered a seal to be made, appointed a committee to inquire how money and ammunition sent from foreign parts had been disposed of, appointed auditors of accounts, who were charged to examine what had been made of protestants rents, goods, or chattles, and ordered that the enemy should *not* be called protestants or English, but the puritanical or malignant party.

The lords of Castlehaven and Gormanstown, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Phelim O'Neal, Rory Macguire and others of note amongst them, were then appointed to prescribe a form of government, and the prelates were ordered to enjoin the priests to administer their oath of association to every parishioner, and to take his subscription, which oath was to be solemnly given after confession and the sacrament in the parish church, and the names of all persons of rank and quality that took it to be enrolled.

At the same time they had taken care to provide for trade, in a clause of one their public ordinances, which enjoined that merchants and their ships should be protected in their importations;



while they took no less care to ordain, That there should be commissioners appointed in every part, to view the arms and ammunition that should be imported, and to certify the same to the supreme council.

This supreme council which was to govern and conduct the whole machine, was nominated on the fourteenth day of November, when the following persons were chosen :

LEINSTER, { Archbishop of Dublin, jurat.  
Viscount Gormanstown, jurat.  
Viscount Mountgarret, jur. & resid.  
Nicholas Plunket, jur. & resid.  
Richard Beling, jur. & resid.  
James Cusack, jur. & resid.

CONNAUGHT, { Archbishop of Tuam, jurat.  
Viscount Mayo,  
Bishop of Clonsfert, jur. & resid.  
Sir Lucas Dillon, jurat.  
Patrick Darcy, jur. & resid.  
Geofry Brown, jur. & resid.

MUNSTER, { Viscount Roch, jur. & resid.  
Sir Daniel O'Brian,  
Edmond Fitzmorris, jur.  
Dr. Fannel, jur.  
Robert Lambart, jur. & resid.  
George Comyn, jur.

ULSTER, { Archbishop of Ardmagh, jur. & re.  
Bishop of Down, jur. & resid.  
Philip O'Reyly, jur. & resid.  
Colonel Mac Mahon, jur.  
Ever Mac Gennis, jur.  
Tirlogh O'Neal

And

And on the fifteenth day of the same month, they appointed the lord Mountgarret to be president, and Richard Shea to be clerk of this supreme council: — the next day they ordered horse and foot to be levied for their service, five thousand three hundred of the foot, and five hundred and twenty horse to go to the army, and the rest to be for garrisons and other places of defence. The king's revenue was ordered to be gathered up for making a common stock for the use of the kingdom, and the earl of Castlehaven was appointed to devise an order of knighthood, for the honour of the nobility and gentry of the nation. These and many other articles of less consequence were ordained by the general assembly, who on breaking up had left the whole authority in the supreme council: and this was the form of government which they set up against that of monarchy in Ireland.

In the mean time, in England, Charles having sent a message to the parliament of England, importing, that he had resolved to go over in person to suppress that Irish rebellion, and desiring them to provide for the pay of two thousand two hundred men, to be armed at Westchester from his own magazine of Hull, and sent as a guard for his person, (when he should come into Ireland) they returned his majesty the following answer.

May it please your Majesty,

“Your Majesty's most loyal and faithful subjects the lords and commons now in parliament, have duly considered the message received from your majesty, concerning your purpose of going into Ireland in your own person, to prosecute the war there, with the bodies of your English subjects levied, transported, and maintained at their charge; which you are pleased to propound to us, not as a matter wherein your majesty desires the advice

advice of your parliament, but as already firmly resolved on, and forthwith to be put in execution, by granting out commissions for the levying of two thousand foot and two hundred horse, for a guard for your person when you shall come into that kingdom: wherein we cannot chuse but with all reverence and humility to your majesty, observe that you have declined your great council, the parliament and varried from the usual course of your royal predecessors; that a business of so great importance, concerning the peace and safety of all your subjects, wherein they have a special interest by your majesty's promises, and by those great sums which they have discharged and for which they stand engaged, should be concluded and undertaken without their advice. Whereupon we hold it our duty to declare, that if at this time your Majesty should go into Ireland, you will very much endanger the safety of your royal person and kingdoms, and of all other states professing the protestant religion in christendom, and make way to the execution of that cruel and bloody design the papists, have in a great part already effected in that kingdom, and in all likelihood would quickly be attempted in other places, if the consideration of the strength and union of the two nations of England and Scotland, did not much hinder and discourage the execution of any such design. And that we may manifest to your Majesty the danger and misery which such a journey and enterprize would produce, we present to your Majesty the reasons of this our humble opinion and advice.

I. Your royal person will be subject not only to the casualty of war, but to secret practices and conspiracies, especially for your Majesty's continuing your profession to maintain the protestant religion in that kingdom, which the papists are generally bound by their vow to extirpate.

II. It

HI

II.

do gen

favour

insurre

commi

tion of

at this

whereb

ply the

necessit

reason

given a

III.

whereb

the char

more in

can conf

turers v

knowlec

resolutio

very wil

contrary

IV. Y

much in

deprive

acts of

expect fr

perfect u

Majesty

firming t

V. It

fears of

probable,

counsels

parliamen

kingdom.

VI. It

vantage w



II. It will exceedingly encourage the rebels who do generally profess and declare your Majesty doth favour and allow their proceedings, and that this insurrection was undertaken by the warrant of your commission; and it will make good their expectation of great advantage by your Majesty's presence, at this time of so much distraction in the kingdom, whereby they may hope we shall be disabled to supply the war there, especially there appearing less necessity of your Majesty's journey at this time by reason of the manifest successes which God hath given against them.

III. It will much hinder and impair the means whereby this war is to be supported, and increase the charge of it, and in both these respects make more insupportable to your subjects. And this we can confidently affirm, because many of the adventurers who have already subscribed, do, upon the knowledge of your Majesty's intention, declare their resolution not to pay in their money; and others very willing to have subscribed, do now profess the contrary.

IV. Your Majesty's absence must necessarily very much interrupt the proceedings of parliament, and deprive your subjects of the benefit of those farther acts of grace and justice, which we shall humbly expect from your Majesty, for the establishing of a perfect union and mutual confidence between your Majesty and your people, and procuring and confirming the prosperity of both.

V. It will exceedingly increase the jealousies and fears of your people, and render their doubts more probable, of some force intended by some evil counsels near your Majesty, in opposition of the parliament and favour of the malignant party in this kingdom.

VI. It will bereave your parliament of that advantage whereby they were induced to undertake the war,



war, upon your majesty's promise that it should be managed by their advice, which cannot be done, if your majesty contrary to their counsels shall undertake to order and govern it in your own person.

Upon which, and for divers other reasons, we have resolved by the full and concurring agreement of both houses, that we cannot, with discharge of our duty, consent to any levies or raising of soldiers, to be made by your majesty for this your intended expedition into Ireland; or to the payment of any army or soldiers there, but such as shall be employed and governed according to our advice and direction; and that if any such levies shall be made by any commission of your majesty (not agreed to by both houses of parliament) we shall be forced to interpret the same, to be raised to the terror of your people, and disturbance of the public peace, and hold ourselves bound by the laws of the kingdom to apply the authority of parliament to suppress the same.

And we do farther most humbly declare, that if your majesty shall by ill counsel be persuaded to go, contrary to this advice of your parliament, (which we hope your majesty will not) we do not in that case hold ourselves bound to submit to any commissioners whom your majesty shall chuse, but do resolve to preserve and govern the kingdom, by the counsel and advice of parliament, for your majesty and your posterity, according to our allegiance, and the law of the land.

Wherefore we most humbly pray and advise your majesty to desist from this your intended passage into Ireland, and from all preparations of men and arms tending thereunto, and to leave the management of that war to your parliament, according to your majesty's promise made unto us, and your royal commission granted under your

your g  
in prof  
already  
seats o  
ened a  
means  
be inte  
jesty's  
grounds  
of your  
confusio  
sue) if  
shall be  
right an  
those ho  
committe  
ny of yo  
a condit  
of your  
your go  
people.  
whereof,  
of your  
will plea  
which ma  
and alleg  
have alwa  
and shall  
our lives  
To thi  
ply :  
" WE  
unexpected  
message o  
Irish jour  
of the ap  
that declar

your great seal of England, by advice of both houses, in prosecution whereof, by God's blessing, we have already made a prosperous entrance, by many defeats of the rebels, whereby they are much weakened and disheartened, and have no probable means of subsistence, if are proceeding shall not be interrupted by this interposition of your majesty's journey, by that we may hope upon good grounds that within a short time, without hazard of your majesty's person, and so much dangerous confusion to your kingdoms (which must needs ensue) if you should proceed in this resolution; we shall be enabled fully to vindicate your majesty's right and authority in that kingdom, and punish those horrible outrageous cruelties which have been committed, in the murdering and spoiling so many of your subjects, and bring that realm to such a condition as may be much for the advantage of your majesty and this crown, the honour of your government, and the contentment of your people. For the better and more speedy effecting whereof, we do again renew our humble desires of your return to your parliament, and that you will please to reject all counsels and apprehensions which may any way derogate from that faithfulness and allegiance, which in truth and sincerity we have always borne and professed to your majesty, and shall ever make good to the uttermost with our lives and fortunes."

To this answer the king made the following reply:

"WE are so troubled and astonished to find the unexpected reception and misunderstanding of our message of the eighth of April, concerning our Irish journey, that being so much disappointed of the approbation and thanks we looked for to that declaration, we have great cause to doubt whether

whether it be in our power to say or do any thing which shall not fall within the like interpretation. But as we have in that message called God to witness the sincerity of the profession of our only ends for the undertaking that journey : so we must appeal to all our good subjects, and the whole world, whether the reasons alledged against that journey be of weight to satisfy our understanding, or the counsel presented, to persuade us from it, be full of that duty to us, which is likely to prevail over our affections.

For our resolving of so great a business without the advice of our parliament ;—we must remember you, how often by our messages we made the same offer, if you should advise us thereunto, to which you never gave us the least answer ; but in your late declaration told us, that ye were not to be satisfied with *words*, so that we had reason to conceive you rather avoided (out of regard to our person) to give us counsel to run that hazard, than that you disapproved the inclination. And what greater comfort or security can the protestants of Christendom receive, than by seeing a protestant king venture and engage his person for the defence of that profession, and the suppression of popery, to which we solemnly protested in that message never to grant a toleration upon what pretence soever, or an abolition of any of the laws there in force, against the professors of it. And when we consider the great calamities, and unheard of cruelties our poor protestant subjects in that kingdom have undergone for the space of near or full six months, the growth and increase of the strength of those barbarous rebels, and the evident probability of foreign supplies (if they are not speedily suppressed) the very slow succours hitherto sent them from hence ; that the officers of several regiments who have long time been allowed entertainment from

you for  
succour  
horse  
that th  
relied p  
affairs  
ing our  
to his  
ny and  
report  
nanced  
of ours,  
order o  
Remons  
cerning  
wherein  
(how im  
an impr  
subjects  
the dist  
kingdom  
thither, v  
of discha  
defence o  
felt our a  
preservati  
pedition,  
done, eve  
portance a  
and advan  
expected  
For th  
necessary  
life to pr  
imagined  
dom to l  
be maffac  
the utmost



you for that service have not raised any supply or succour for that kingdom. That many troops of horse have long lain near Chester untransported,—that the lord lieutenant of Ireland on whom we relied principally for the conduct and managing of affairs there is still in this kingdom, notwithstanding our earnestness expressed, that he should repair to his command; and when we consider the many and great scandals raised upon ourselves by the report of the rebels, and not sufficiently discountenanced here, notwithstanding so many professions of ours, and had seen a book lately printed by the order of the house of commons, intituled, “A Remonstrance of divers remarkable passages, concerning the church and kingdom of Ireland:” wherein some examinations are set down, which (how improbable or impossible soever) may make an impression on the minds of many of our weak subjects;—and lastly when we have duly weighed the dishonour, which will perpetually lie upon this kingdom, if full and speedy relief be not dispatched thither, we could not nor can think of a better way of discharging our duty to Almighty God, for the defence of the true protestant profession or to manifest our affection to our three kingdoms for their preservation, than by engaging our person in this expedition, as many of our royal progenitors have done, even in foreign parts, upon causes of less importance and piety, with great honour to themselves, and advantage to this kingdom; and therefore we expected at least thanks for such our inclination.

For the danger of our person; we conceive it necessary and worthy of a king to adventure his life to preserve his kingdom; neither can it be imagined that we will sit still and suffer our kingdom to be lost, and our good protestant subjects be massacred without exposing our own person to the utmost hazard for their relief and preservation;  
our



our life when it was most pleasant, being nothing so precious to us, as it is and shall be to govern and preserve our people with honour and justice.

For any encouragement to the rebels because of the report they raised, we cannot conceive, that the rebels are capable of a greater terror, than by the presence of their lawful king at the head of an army: besides it will be an unspakable advantage to them, if any reports of theirs could hinder us from doing any thing, which were fit for us to do if such reports were not raised; this would quickly teach them in this jealous age to prevent by such reports any other persons from coming against them whom they had no mind should be employed.

We marvel that the adventurers, whose advantage was a principal motive (next the reason before mentioned) to us, should so much mistake our purpose whose interest we conceive, must be much improved by the expedition we hope (by God's blessing) to use in this service, this being the most probable way for the speedy conquest of the rebels; and their lands are sufficiently secured by act of parliament.

We think not ourself kindly used that the addition of so few men to your levies (for a guard to our person in Ireland) should be thought fit for your refusal, and much more, that having used so many cautions in that message, both in the smallness of the number; in our having raised none until your answer; in their being to be raised only near their place of shipping; in their being there to be armed, and not till they were ready to be shipped: in the provision by the oath, that none of them should be papist (all which appear sufficient to destroy all grounds of jealousy, of any malignant party) any suspicions should notwithstanding be grounded upon it.

Neither

H  
Ne  
mend  
intenc  
your  
which  
thoug  
not p  
counc  
(with  
sider:  
of ou  
right  
We ca  
ty (wi  
us fair  
resigne  
subject  
have a  
from a  
dissent  
sons wh  
derfanc  
toward  
ther can  
hath b  
son, or  
our affe  
then we  
bind yo  
(and w  
kingdom  
dissent,  
good, a  
For  
your pe  
answer  
any. T  
with it,  
Vol.

Neither can it be understood, when we recommended the managing of that war to you, that we intended to exclude ourself, not to be concerned in your counsels; or that if we found any expedient, which in our conscience or understanding, we thought necessary for that great work, we might not put it in practice, we look upon you our great council, whose advice we always have, and will (with great regard and deliberation) weigh and consider: but we look upon ourself as neither deprived of our royal understanding, nor divested of any right we had: if there were no parliament sitting. We called you together by our own writ and authority (without which you could not have met) to give us faithful counsel about our great affairs: but we resigned not our own interest and freedom; we never subjected ourself to your absolute determination, we have always weighed your counsels, as proceeding from a body entrusted by us; and when we have dissented from you, we have returned you the reasons which prevailed with our conscience and understanding, with that candour a prince should use towards his subjects, and that affection which a father can express to his children. What application hath been used to rectify our understanding by reason, or what motive have been given to persuade our affection, we leave all the world to judge: and then we must tell you, howsoever a major part may bind you in matter of opinion, we hold ourself; (and we are sure the law and constitution of the kingdom have always held the same) as free to dissent, till our reason be convinced for the general good, as if you delivered no opinion.

For our journey itself;—the circumstance of your petition is such as we know not well what answer to return or whether we had best to give any. That part which pretends to carry reason with it, doth no way satisfy us: the other, which

is rather reprehension and menace than advice, cannot stagger us. — Our answer therefore is, That we shall be very glad to find the work of Ireland so easy as you seem to think it; which did not so appear by any thing known to us, when we sent our message. And though we will never refuse, or be unwilling to venture our person for the good and safety of our people, we are not so weary of our life as to hazard it impertinently; and therefore, since you seem to have received advertisement of some late and great successes in that kingdom, we will stay some time to see the event of those, and not pursue this resolution till we have given you a second notice. But if we find the miserable condition of our poor subjects of that kingdom be not speedily relieved, we will (with God's assistance) visit it with such succours as our particular credit and interest can supply us with, if you refuse to join with us: and we doubt not but the leagues we shall make (in which we will observe punctually the former and all other cautions that may best prevent all fears and jealousies, and to use no power but what is legal) will be so much to the satisfaction of our subjects, as that no person will dare to resist our commands; and if they should, at their peril. In the mean time, we hope our forwardness so remarkable to that service shall be notorious to all the world, and that all scandals laid on us in that business shall be clearly wiped away.

We were so careful that our journey into Ireland should not intercept the proceedings of parliament, not deprive our subjects of any acts of justice, or farther acts of grace, for the real benefit of our people, that we made free offer of leaving such power behind, as should not only be necessary for the peace and safety of the kingdom, but fully provided for the happy progress of the parliament.

And

H I  
And  
power  
for the  
of par  
such a  
ing in  
now f  
ing to  
our a  
kingdo  
—E  
given  
and in  
York,  
know  
for ou  
another  
danger  
been so  
fears,  
publish  
and u  
for sup  
that o  
fore yo  
To c  
the sam  
your m  
those y  
fident,  
by wha  
address  
you w  
warrant  
deed w  
to, left  
tion, to  
willing



And therefore we cannot but wonder since such power hath been always left here by commission for the government of the same, during the sitting of parliament; and since yourselves desired that such a power might be left here by us, at our going into Scotland, what law of the land ye have now found, to dispense with you from not submitting to such authority, legally derived from us in our absence, and to enable you to govern this kingdom by your own mere authority.

—For our return towards London, we have given you so full an answer in our late declaration, and in answer to your petition presented to us at York, on the twenty-sixth of March last, that we know not what to add; if you will not provide for our security with you, nor agree to remove to another place where there may not be the same danger to us.—We expected that, since we had been so particular in the causes and grounds of our fears, you should have sent us word that you had published such declarations against future tumults and unlawful assemblies, and taken such courses, for suppressing seditious sermons and pamphlets, that our fears of that kind might be laid aside, before you should press our return.

To conclude; we could wish you would, with the same strictness and severity, weigh and examine your messages and expressions to us, as you do those you receive from us; for we are very confident, that if you examine our rights and privileges by what our predecessors have enjoyed, and your addresses by the usual courses of your ancestors, you will find many expressions in this petition warranted only by your own authority, which indeed we forbear to take notice of, or to give answer to, lest we should be tempted, in a just indignation, to express a greater passion than we are yet willing to put on. God, in his good time, we



hope, will so inform the hearts of all our subjects, that we shall recover from the mischief and danger of this distemper; on whose good pleasure we will wait with all patience and humility."——

To such rational messages, the parliament returned nothing but unjust complaints and revilings, (which were partly occasioned, however, by the king's having afterwards, sent to desire they would retract an order they had made to dispute of one hundred thousand pounds of the adventurers money, contrary to the express words of the act of parliament, and to the great prejudice of the affairs of Ireland,) recriminating according to their custom, and having affirmed it was a breach of privilege thus to address them, they vouchsafed to declare that they would repay the money—*when it suited them.*

These extracts, and this detail of circumstances I have thought proper to insert, to shew where the true cause that the Irish were not subdued, really originated, it remains now to inform the reader, that as soon as the lords justices had notice of his majesty's intention, they sent him a dutiful letter of thanks and encouragement. Nevertheless, the design was baffled by the English parliament which reduced the government of Ireland to great extremities.

For by this time the English army was so much distressed for want of provisions, and such like circumstances that it was obliged to return to Dublin, notwithstanding the lord justices had written a pressing letter to the lieutenant general, not to take that step, the citizens being in the same circumstances: and on their return the soldiers plundered the markets, whereupon this proceeding being stopped by proclamation, and some offenders punished, many of the officers presented a threatening remonstrance to the government, and things seemed

H  
seem  
order  
was  
and S  
ties,  
many  
measur  
At  
things  
cessity,  
rional  
junctur  
to con  
rates.  
letters  
council  
some ti  
—B  
tion, th  
thousan  
in prov  
a forin  
fore the  
the sam  
after so  
rebels o  
sixteen  
with the  
In the  
on with  
but, on  
the Eng  
plies eith  
hand of  
On th  
fortune t  
Boyne;  
Sir Pheli

seemed to tend towards making confusion and disorder.—About the same time, Sir William Parsons was removed from his office, and Sir John Burlace and Sir Henry Tichburn were constituted lords justices, Parsons having become very disagreeable to many moderate persons, on account of his violent measures and attachment to the puritan party.

At length the lords justices and council found things running to confusion. Being pressed by necessity, they had recourse to new taxes. These additional burdens did but help to increase it.—And at this juncture his majesty ordered the marquis of Ormond to conclude a cessation of arms with the confederates. But though the king wrote no less than four letters upon this subject, there being yet some in council who strongly opposed the measure, it was some time before any notice was publicly taken of it.—But the marquis of Ormond making a motion, that the cessation must be concluded unless ten thousand pounds (one half in money, and the other in provisions) could be raised and brought in within a fortnight, the mayor of the city being called before the board, and averring this to be impossible the same was registered in the council-book, and after some delays the marquis agreed to meet the rebels on the twenty-third day of June, in the year sixteen hundred and forty-three, in order to treat with them for that purpose.

In the interval of time, the war had been carried on with various successes in the different provinces, but, on the whole, mostly to the disadvantage of the English, who had too little prospect of supplies either of men or provisions to get the upper-hand of their enemies.

On the one hand, colonel Monk had the good fortune to defeat a party of the Irish at a pass on the Boyne; and in Ulster, Monroe gave Owen Roe and Sir Phelim O'Neal a great check:—But on the other

other hand, in Connaught the Irish were victorious, the fort Galway was surrendered to them, and they were besieging Castle-Coot; when the news of the cessation of arms, put an end to their views and operations.—In Munster the lord of Inchiquin dividing his army, himself marched westward; while Sir Charles Vavasor, wheeling off to the westward, took Mac Thomas's castle; and other forts in the county of Waterford. After this, the army rendezvoused at Bottivant, whence a party was sent to plunder in the county of Kerry, who returned with success.—Then the troops marched to Killmallock; but at length Sir Charles Vavasor, after having taken the castle of Cloghleagh, where he violated a solemn promise of quarter, which he had given to the garrison, he with all his force, was attacked and routed by the earl of Castlehaven, six hundred English being slain in the engagement, and himself with many others made prisoners by the confederates, after which victory the latter marched towards Leinster.

Such was the condition of Ireland, which the English parliament had declared, they had good ground to hope they should in a short time be enabled to subdue.—Yet when the government of Ireland justly complained that their difficulties were occasioned by the failures of this parliament, the latter received a letter of reproach upon the occasion which they smartly answered, confirming their first assertion, and justly asserting that they had actually given them full, frequent and seasonable notice of all their wants, and (in regard they had the management of the war) knew not where else to lay the blame.

But there was one to whose charge the English parliament, were willing enough to lay this and every other miscarriage, namely the king himself; though certainly he was not to be blamed in the matter,



matter, whereas their least neglect after their frequent professions of zeal for the service, was in every respect most unpardonable.

It is indeed well known that with regard to this cessation, and the peace afterwards concluded with the Irish, Charles has been most unmercifully railed at, and his memory is still execrated by some, who seem to be little acquainted with the times in which he lived.—As there is nothing more easy than to acquire a train of prejudices and false ideas, so perhaps there is nothing much more difficult than to get rid of them. It is, however, the business of an impartial historian to point them out as plainly as possible, without regarding parties, or yielding before the current of popular opinions.

Let us consider the first part of Charles's reign in what light we may, it is certain that at that period which we have now been treating of, he was willing to give every just and reasonable satisfaction to his people, and to grant them every security for their liberties that they could with propriety demand. Yet, having to deal with a set of men who pretended to represent them, he found all efforts vain to come to a right understanding in the affairs of government. The moderation of these men decreasing in proportion to the increase of their success, the king found that they wished to strip him of all power, and, what to him was still more cutting, to make him publicly yield to the abolition of that form of religion which he was privately most zealously attached to, and which he had sworn publicly to maintain. He saw that instead of levying men for the Irish service, they were rather inclined to levy war against himself. He found all his offers rejected, his words purposely misconstrued, and his person so much vilified and



insulted, that he could not stay in or near his capital either with honour or safety. He was in this situation when he set up his standard, which his rebellious subjects termed *first declaring war against his people*: a matter absurd in the very idea of it.—The consequences proved that the parliament had been long before preparing for a rupture, a circumstance that sufficiently justified their prince in this measure. The war once kindled, it was too evident he had nothing to hope for from that puritan assembly, though he was weak enough to suffer himself to be cajoled and deprived of the advantages he had gained, or was likely to gain over them, by listening to their overtures for a peace, which presently came to nothing.—They had, by this time, raised soldiers by his own authority against him, they had solicited the assistance of Scotland, and moved Heaven and earth in their quarrel against their lawful monarch. Considering how he was likely to be pressed by those iron-hearted men, and foreseeing that it would be impossible for either party, till both were united, effectually to carry on the Irish war, how can the candid, the judicious, the humane, hold him criminal for a procedure to which he was absolutely forced from motives of self-preservation?—The cessation of arms, the recall of the English army, the attempt to engage Irish troops in his service to defend him from his inveterate persecutors, are all certainly justifiable upon this principle.

It is likewise to be observed that whatever were the first designs of the catholics of Ireland, they now certainly offered to become loyal subjects, and, in the sequel, many of them lost their estates and lives in his service.—They acted upon principles imitative of the Scots and English, for religion was not only the pretended, it was the

the real  
why the  
one set  
The lat  
last they  
as they

But th  
of infino  
liamenta  
in favor  
censure  
ings wit  
prince's  
to temp  
the mos  
have de  
testants  
tholics.  
enemy,  
conduct  
brought  
for that  
him wh  
prejudic  
the tru  
church  
puritans  
vad wh  
church,  
to gran  
while th  
bridge  
nothing  
his mo  
ertain  
church  
Ireland

the *real* and principal cause of their insurrection; why then had not the king a right to close with one set of rebels as well as with the other.—The latter had always the preference; though at last they committed an action that the others, bad as they were, would have shuddered at.

But the unhappy king was aspersed, and accused of insincerity by both parties; for, while the Parliamentarians in England charged him of partiality in favour of the Irish, the Irish scrupled not to censure him for his want of candour in his dealings with them.—True it is, that this hapless prince's embarrassments did sometimes oblige him to temporize; but could the most prudent and the most virtuous person in his situation possibly have done otherwise?—Certainly not.—The protestants said he was too much inclined to the catholics. The catholics thought him to be their enemy, and averred, in justification of their own conduct, that nothing but necessity could have brought him to grant them any concessions, and for that very reason it was scarcely safe to trust him when he did so. Both parties argued from prejudice, upon false grounds, and neither spoke the truth. Charles was a zealous son of the church of England, alike averse to catholics and puritans, when either of them attempted to invade what he conceived to be the rights of that church,—but of a disposition easily to be persuaded to grant all manner of indulgence alike to either, while they kept within proper bounds. To abridge episcopacy in favour of Puritans was what nothing but the greatest distress of himself and his most faithful friends could have made him entertain a thought of. To grant churches and church government absolutely to the papists of Ireland was what he would have died rather than have

have consented to ; nay, it was what he really lost his life, because he did not timely agree with. Perhaps this bigotry to his own church was a weakness, perhaps he had better, in point of prudence have agreed with either of these parties, than have rendered both dissatisfied, and thereby wrought his own destruction. Yet, in point of *conscience* he was certainly right, and if, in the midst of the miseries and unforeseen misfortunes that ensued he was ever heard to drop an expression, intimating that he wished he had not been so strict (as some assert) what unprejudiced person, who is possessed of the feelings of humanity will not excuse him !

With respect to the Irish catholics, he certainly never meant to see them triumphant, he certainly was so far from being concerned in, that he detested their insurrection. Yet he doubtless disapproved of those measures, which were urged as excuses for driving all, and really did drive some part of them into rebellion, and, both before and after that dreadful event would willingly have delivered his subjects of that country from oppression, and, from a truly Christian spirit, would have tolerated a religion whose tenets he did not approve.

It must be acknowledged on all hands, that the king from the very beginning of his disputes with the English parliament was most cruelly perplexed in his affairs ; he was exposed by many betrayed by some, loyally obeyed by few, and effectually served by none.—His having married a Roman Catholic princess added to his embarrassments, and the more tenderly he loved her, as she was become odious to the generality even of his loyal subjects, the greater was his unhappiness. In the affairs of Ireland it was almost impossible,  
from

from the  
times in  
favour of  
more at  
himself,  
jects facti  
her which  
This prin  
be, was  
deed En  
concerted  
kindling  
duct four  
have kep  
certain f  
Amidst  
and abro  
even it  
much gr  
to the th  
that in c  
but wha  
he was  
had been  
he had f  
as the e  
them up  
Scots b  
at once  
with w  
be at al  
cessions  
infisted  
which  
religion  
consenti  
to the  
of wor



from the nature of things but that she must sometimes interfere, and towards the decline of the favour of the royal party, she was in some instances more attended to by the Irish than the king himself, who being under the influence of his subjects factions was obliged to refer many things to her which otherwise he would himself have settled. This princess, whatever her private character might be, was but ill suited to govern protestants or indeed Englishmen of any denomination. Her ill-concerted measures were greatly instrumental in kindling the civil war in England, and, by a conduct founded on the same principles she seems to have kept that alive in Ireland, though it is most certain she heartily wished it to be extinguished. Amidst all these difficulties and perplexities at home and abroad, what could be expected from Charles, even if he had been a man endowed with much greater talents for government than ever fell to the share of any of the Stuarts?—It is plain that in the matter in present debate, he did nothing but what he had both a legal right to do, and what he was impelled to by absolute necessity. If he had been the author or abettor of this insurrection; if he had from the first wished well to the confederates as the espousers of his cause, and had only stirred them up with a view of mastering the English and Scots by their means, how came it that he did not at once close with them, and how can the difficulty with which he granted them any concessions be at all accounted for? And what were the concessions he granted? Were they so great as those insisted upon by the Puritans of England, and which though equally destructive of the established religion, he was most cruelly censured for not consenting to? In effect, he at last allowed nothing to the catholics but that liberty of conscience, and of worshipping God in their own way, against which  
though



though, for particular political reasons there were laws enacted, yet, in an enlightened age and civilized country, surely no man should be blamed for asserting as the undoubted and inherent right of any Christian man or set of men whatsoever while they demean themselves quietly to the government under which they live? Indeed, even queen Elizabeth, whose acts and reign were chiefly quoted by the violent zealots for persecution, was far from being severe in her requisitions concerning religion in Ireland, where the laws in force against the catholics were not, at least, so severely executed as it was now contended they ought to be; her majesty declaring, That she wished the Irish to see that she pursued none in those parts for religion." — A declaration which the queen most certainly made, though indeed many excesses were committed under the sanction of her royal authority. If then the king must make some concessions to a party, as was absolutely the case, the most moderate ones were undoubtedly the best, and it is plain that he at last did only grant moderate ones to the catholics, who were to engage, in consequence of these, to become loyal subjects, and every where to fight his battles. The Puritans and their adherents, he plainly saw, confined themselves to one point, but when one dispute was agreed proceeded to another; they were resolved to strip him of all the power, if not of the very name of a king, whereas the catholics, in the midst of their excesses, had at least made some shew of allegiance, professed to respect his person, and to be tender of his prerogatives, though they sometimes usurped them; and with all this they seemed to have but *one* grand point in view, which granted, they must return to obedience, and serve him most faithfully, or be branded as the worst of villains, judging them

them ev  
mitters f  
by yield  
thing b  
republi  
two ev  
chuse t  
The wo  
more in  
by save  
one of  
possess.  
had fled  
the inha  
been wo  
self to  
delivere  
trial, w  
on term  
nation

But  
—On  
the reb  
perplex  
commis  
that ma  
proved  
tuation  
of hor  
people,  
of them  
this wa  
untracta  
rated on  
a spirit  
self, th  
friend t  
attached

them even by their own words : Charles and his ministers found a way to bring them in without entirely yielding up even this one demand, whereas nothing but absolute compliance would satisfy the republicans. What wonder is there then that of two evils this unhappy prince was willing to chuse that which was apparently the least ?—The wonder is rather, that he did not sooner and more implicitly comply with the Irish, and thereby save his life and honour, and preserve at least one of the three kingdoms which he was born to possess.—One thing, however, is certain, that if he had fled to the inhabitants of Ireland, or indeed to the inhabitants of Morocco, he could not have been worse treated, than when he surrendered himself to his own countrymen, and being by them delivered up, was brought as a criminal to his trial, while he was treating with the parliament, on terms of peace, upon the public faith of the nation.

But to return to the matter of the cessation :—Ormond, though he had promised to meet the rebels, as I mentioned above, was yet much perplexed and far from being pleased with his commission. On the one hand, he well knew that many members of the council still disapproved the measure, and notwithstanding the situation Dublin was in, were struck with a kind of horror at the thoughts of treating with a people, whom they looked upon as savages. Some of them had lost friends, relations, or property in this war, and those, from a spirit of revenge untractable ;—others heartily hated the confederated on account of their religion, and these, from a spirit of zeal, were implacable. Ormond himself, though on the whole a good man, and a friend to the king and his interests, being strongly attached to the forms of the church of England, trembled

trembled at the consequences which might ensue from the peace to which this cessation was intended as a prelude, and so far his own weight was thrown into the scale with the opposers.—But on the other hand, he conceived it highly necessary that there should be an union in Ireland for his majesty's service in both kingdoms; and this principle swayed him to do all that was possible to reconcile things, and put an end to the scene of civil war.—These last considerations preponderating, he went to the place appointed, resolving to do all in his power to obey his prince, if he could do so, to the honour of his crown and dignity and the safety of the protestant religion as by law established.

Cox.

With these sentiments, the marquis repaired to the congress, where he was met by the lord Gormanstown, the lord Muskerry, Sir Lucas Dillon, Sir Rober Talbot, Sir Hugh O'Neal, Geoffry Brown, Evev Mac Gennis, and John Walfsh, who acted as commissioners for the confederates.—Ormond receiving them in his tent near Castle Martin, sitting and covered, but they appeared uncovered. He told them he was come to meet them according to their desires, and added, That he expected their proposals in writing.—After this they demanded to see his commission, (expressing themselves willing to shew theirs) —and when they found that no body but his lordship was named in the king's commission, as their authority was likewise to treat with him alone, they moved, That the negotiation might be kept secret till the matter was fully concluded. The marquis answered, That, as for the way of proceeding, he was entrusted therewith by his majesty, and should do nothing therein but what he conceived to be fit. Then he received a copy of their commission, and let them



them have a copy of his majesty's letter of the third of May, sixteen hundred and forty-one, and promised them, upon the conclusion of the treaty, a copy of his majesty's letter of the twenty-third of April, sixteen hundred and forty-three, and then they tendered propositions; and having agreed that the cessation of arms should be for a year, Ormond proposed that they should first declare what they would contribute towards the support of his majesty's army during that interval. To which they replied, "That when they knew what they had to give, they would assist his majesty according to their utmost abilities, as on all occasions they had heretofore done."

They met again at Sigginstown, where the confederates declared that they would consider on supplies when the cessation was first agreed upon. Then a dispute arose concerning the name or title by which they should be addressed, and their protestations, the marquis not being willing to allow what they designed in their public instruments to avow; namely, That they had taken arms in defence of their religion, his majesty's rights and prerogatives, and the liberties of the kingdom, and no ways to oppose his majesty's authority—[Here however, having granted to the confederated catholics, every thing which justice could claim of an historian, I cannot help observing that these men, made as many objections as others of the king's subjects to those prerogatives they extolled, wherever they conceived *themselves* oppressed by them, as in the earl of Strafford's administration, and at divers other times.—In such instances we see the instability and inconsistency, not of a *party* but of *human nature* itself, and therefore they are worthy to be recorded.] But this was only one obstacle out of many that retarded the business which Charles now began most ardently to wish  
were



were accomplished ; yet so much political prudence passed between him and his ministers, on the one part, and between them and the confederates on the other, that a man unacquainted with the nature of such negotiations, would have thought none of the parties had the least inclination to come to an agreement :—yet the contrary was really the case— all these desired the cessation, and desired a peace but all from different views and motives—Charles wanted the matter settled, in order to check the arbitrary measures of the Puritan parliament, yet he wanted it done in such a manner as to save his conscience, and give no offence to his loyal protestant subjects, —Ormond wished it accomplished in order to save his royal master whom he loved, and to deliver the kingdom he ruled from the miseries of a civil war ; but he desired it might be done in such a manner as might preserve the king's consequence and his own, in the scale of government, and give little or nothing up in point of his religion, for which at that time he seems to have been *zealous over-much*. Lastly, the confederates (who were the most extravagant of all in their expectations) desired to have first a cessation, and afterwards a peace entirely on their own terms, such as might secure their honour, exculpate them from every charge of rebellion, instate them in the public practice of their religion not only by way of toleration, but as they expressed it *even in its greatest splendour*.—It is no wonder, in this situation, that the parties were a long time before they could agree upon any thing.----The title of address, the settling of quarters, the means of supply, the times of meeting, and an hundred frivolous pretexts, in consequence, delayed even the beginning of this preliminary treaty, which indeed was big with all the miscarriages of the future peace.—And the matter was in agitation from

June

June t  
cluded,  
tion to  
should  
who g  
ment,  
conclud

“ W  
demand  
appoint  
lordship  
sons of  
the beg  
of this  
seriously  
already  
(though  
tuned  
left not  
their fu  
common  
diers, b  
within  
consider  
forts an  
great dis  
is likely  
of profi  
whereof  
due tim  
necessar  
the lord  
for one  
tions th  
virtue o  
dom of  
teenth c  
sand fix  
Vol.

June till September, when at last it was concluded, Ormond having first taken every precaution to throw off all blame from himself, if any should be, and having consulted the great men, who gave their opinion in the following instrument, before the particular preliminary treaty was concluded.

“WHEREAS, the lord marquís of Ormond demanded the opinions; as well of the members appointed from the council-board to assist his lordship in the present treaty, as of other persons of honour and command, that have since the beginning thereof repaired out of several parts of this kingdom to his lordship. They therefore *seriously considering how much his majesty's army hath already suffered for want of relief out of England,* (though the same was often pressed and importuned by his most gracious majesty, who hath left nothing unattempted which might conduce to their support and maintenance) and unto what common misery not only the officers and soldiers, but others also his majesty's good subjects within this kingdom are reduced;—and farther considering how many of his majesty's *principal forts and places of strength are at this present in great distress,* and the imminent danger the kingdom is likely to fall into;—and finding no possibility of prosecuting the war without farther supplies, *whereof they can apprehend no hope nor possibility in due time:* They for these causes do conceive it necessary for his majesty's honour and service that the lord marquís do assent to a cessation of arms for one whole year, on the articles and conditions this day drawn up, and to be perfected by virtue of his majesty's commission of this kingdom of Ireland.—Witness our hands, the fifteenth day of September, in the year one thousand six hundred and forty-three.”

Clanrickard and St.	James Ware	John Gifford
Albans	Michael Emly	Philip Percival
Roscommon	Foulk Huntly	Richard Jebson
Richard Dungany	John Powlet	Henry Warren
Edward Brabazon	Maurice Eustace	Albanus Locky,
Inchiquin	Edward Povey	<i>advocatus Regis.</i>
Thomas Lucas		

Ormond having gotten the better of the catholics in the matter of their title, which he told them was not at that time proper to be used to him, and having besides obtained from them the promise of a greater sum of money than the English parliament had at any one time sent over into that kingdom, it is not at all wonderful if we find his address cried up at the English court, and the king rejoicing that he possessed so worthy a servant.—But this last consideration, if indeed no other had existed, would have been of itself sufficient to have given birth to other sentiments in the breasts of those who composed the parliament. They treated this cessation with abhorrence and contempt. They averred it was destructive to the protestants of Ireland. They urged it would give the rebels time to recruit their forces; nay, so ridiculously absurd were they as to observe, among other things, that it would keep the adventurers out of the fruits of their expences a twelve-month, (as if they had been absolutely on the eve of subduing the island, though they had driven their prince to the necessity of withdrawing his army from thence, and knew very well that they also intended to recal all the Scots as well as English who had gone over thither on their account) absurd as this method of argument was, since the protestants must be every way gainers by the cessation, if honourably adhered to, yet it served for a pretence to impeach the marquis of Ormond, and nominally

nominaly deprive him of this post in Ireland, declaring him incapable of holding any office for the future. Nay, so much were the minds of the English prejudiced by the false relations they had received concerning the affairs of Ireland, that even many of the cavaliers laid down their arms, and Holland left Oxford, saying, That his conscience would not permit him to stay there any longer, now he had heard of the cessation.

Circumstances like these would almost make one exclaim with the poet, "That Heaven first confounds the reason of those whom it has devoted to destruction." Indeed one would have thought the English, Scots, and Irish at this fatal period all possessed with such a strange phrensy as led each of them to labour their own ruin.— The English, in particular, if they had not been lost to all sense of their own good, would never have run on from one error into another, as they did, and continually thwarted alike the king's interest and their own. But they were now arrived at such a pass that it was impossible to convince them of what was their real good, and those only who endeavoured such a conviction lost their labour. The Scots though as yet in seeming amity with the parliament of England, were fostering those seeds of discontent which afterwards broke forth into open war between the two kingdoms.— The bulk of the people of both nations had learned a method of justifying every absurd or evil action of their lives by quoting and wresting the scriptures to authorise it. They adopted a kind of cant which they used upon all occasions. Defacing churches, and assaulting the established ministers, was "Pulling down the high places, and exterminating the priests of Baal." Destroying the king's loyal subjects was "Slaying the Philistines." And, if by chance, a straggling Irish-



man was taken, no quarter was to be given him however innocent, because "Samuel hewed Agag in pieces." Though if he had any thing valuable to be stripped of, they were not so scrupulous in destroying that, but reserved it for an offering—not to the Lord indeed, but to their own insatiable desire of plunder.—With this kind of grimace they deceived others, and sometimes even themselves, and this it was that (together with the riches of the city of London) supported the parliament against their prince, and, in the end, worked both his and their own undoing.—In Ireland, the catholics, misled by their chiefs and grossly abused by their priests, had so long breathed nothing but war and destruction against the enemies of their religion, that when they saw themselves at the eve of an accommodation, they were but little satisfied, and how sincere soever the great men might now be in their desire of putting an end to the war, yet there was a flame kindled which it was afterwards difficult for them to extinguish. They and the ecclesiastics had wound up the Irish to a pitch of malicious phrensy as high as that to which the puritan chiefs and teachers had raised the English. Saints, miracles, relics, and charms, had been called in to the assistance of their cause, and to all this holy trumpery was added the pope's benediction, with the vain promises of aid from foreign princes, who either could not, or would not effectually assist them. Had these people been never so well disposed to their rightful sovereign in the beginning, a concurrence of such circumstances would have been enough to wean their minds from a proper obedience to his authority as vested in his protestant deputy. Besides, they had for some time past been accustomed to a kind of republican government of their own chusing; and whatever respect

spect men may pay to the royal dignity, after having been once used to enjoy a greater latitude than is consistent with the kingly rules, it is very hard to bring them again to submit to order and good government. Such was the case; and if it besides be considered how highly these people thought themselves interested in insisting on what they deemed *good terms*, after having shed so much of their own and others blood to procure them, the reader will somewhat the more readily conceive how so many obstacles came to be thrown in the way of a peace in Ireland, as well as in England, though in the eye of reason it must have appeared advantageous to both governments.—From the picture I have drawn of the times, (which indeed, though not exaggerated, is a most deplorable one) he will also conceive an idea of the dismal gloom which overcast the minds of men, and occasioned all the rage and horrors of the civil wars that desolated these unhappy kingdoms, and left lasting marks of their devastation to succeeding ages.

The cessation in Ireland being thus concluded, though Ormond was well pleased with the satisfaction it yielded to his majesty, he was yet full of anxieties as to the consequences of it. And indeed it had not been long made before there were mutual complaints to be heard of the contracting parties relative to excursions, extending of quarters, and the like; and, amongst the rest, the English complained that the Irish had prohibited their party from selling them provisions, even for ready money, on which account they said there was a conspiracy to starve them, as the cessation of arms hindered them from preying the country.

The earl of Castlehaven was accused of continuing the war, and taking several places after he knew of the cessation, and the catholic confederates

derates were censured for having suffered the pope's bull to be published after that agreement took place.

Thirty thousand and eight hundred pounds had been promised as a subsidy, the Irish were charged with breach of contract in not having paid the sum, according to stipulation: but, on the contrary, having seized on the castle and effects of some protestants, and, by tolls for passing through their quarters, and other such exactions, extorting money from the English.

A. D.  
1643.

But notwithstanding all these difficulties, the lieutenant general was busied in sending over his troops into England to his majesty's assistance and the temporary effect their arrival there had was sufficient to shew what might have been done had the Irish returned timely to their obedience and like loyal subjects assisted, or indeed only made a shew of assisting their king.

Carte,

For the Puritans, a set of men at that time to be worked upon only by their fears, began to remit much of their rigour and stomach for war at the news of the arrival of Ormond's little army from Ireland, concerning which however they caused it to be reported, That it was composed of a body of *bloody Irish rebels*, whom it behoved the good people of England to be upon their guard against. However, the treaty of Uxbridge was the consequence, which probably would have succeeded better if a few thousand more had been landed to Charles's assistance.

A. D.  
1644.

In the month of January, James marquis of Ormond was sworn lord lieutenant at Christ Church in Dublin, who immediately set himself about reforming and reducing the army, so that he reserved only one hundred and fifty horse, and two thousand foot. In the April following, at the session of parliament holden at Dublin, the

speaker

HIS  
speaker  
of the  
solemn  
mation  
and con  
army in  
Cork, I  
other m  
the troo  
bitants  
After  
the lord  
Dermod  
agents  
land; w  
deputed  
ther, Si  
whom S  
bach (  
protesta  
lords ju  
of their  
To wh  
would  
going v  
not rec  
further  
proper  
a petiti  
the Iris  
to his l  
the pro  
jesty o  
sion giv  
jects."  
to this  
presente

speaker of both houses issued orders to the officers of the army that none of them should take the solemn league and covenant. In May, a proclamation was issued to free from custom all goods and commodities imported for the relief of the army into Dublin from Drogheda, Carlingford, Cork, Dundalk, Youghal, or Kinsale, and several other measures were taken for the subsistence of the troops, and the ease of the protestant inhabitants of that kingdom.

After the cessation, the confederates sent over the lord viscount Muskerry, Sir Robert Talbot, Dermot Mac Teig O'Brian, and others, as their agents to treat of a peace with the king of England; while the lords justices on their parts had deputed Sir William Steward, Sir Gerald Lowther, Sir Philip Percival, and Justice Donelan, to whom Sir George Ratcliff, and Sir William Sandbach (then at London) were added; but the protestants not satisfied with this, required of the lords justices to obtain a licence for vesting agents of their own to repair to his majesty in England. To which the lords justices replied, that they would by no means hinder such agents from going whither they pleased, but that they could not recommend them to the king till his majesty's further pleasure were known. So they thought proper to wait; but in the mean time they framed a petition to his majesty, setting forth, "That the Irish rebellion was raised out of detestation to his blessed government, and for rooting out the protestant religion, and dispossessing his majesty of that kingdom, without the least occasion given by his majesty or his protestant subjects." They also framed a protest, with regard to this petition (a copy of which having been presented to the lords justices at that juncture,

H 4

seemed



seemed not to meet with their approbation)—The substance of the protest was as follows:

“SUFFERING, under the misconstruction of our petition, we hold it fit to declare that we exhibited not the same through want of assurance of his majesty’s care of the protestant religion, and of his subjects; nor yet to divert any supplies that may be drawn from hence against such as in his majesty’s kingdom of England have taken up arms against him, but merely in right to God’s cause, and in our right, humbly to inform his majesty when the Irish agents shall repair unto him, if the said agents shall endeavour to surprize or prejudice us in either. This is the commission we give, and if any person or persons employed by us shall go farther, or otherwise busy themselves to the disturbance of his majesty’s service, against such we do, and shall protest, as being in our intentions no parties thereunto.—Which, as it may serve to vindicate our faith to his most sacred majesty, so it may shew how causeless the jealousies are of this address to him.”——

This instrument which was intituled, *The sense of divers of his majesty’s protestant subjects, who have signed to the late petition directed to his majesty*, was well enough calculated to take off the odium which the royal party might otherwise have cast upon the framers of such a petition at such a time. Nevertheless, it is plain by their manner of proceeding (distinct from that of government) as it was afterwards also, from the proceedings of their agents, that they were so strongly prejudiced against an accommodation with the Irish, that they would rather have hazarded their royal master’s safety and their own, than have suffered it.

At length after some delays, having received the king’s licence, the petitioner’s agents, among whom

whom v  
took thi  
pril, ca  
eighth k  
when th  
help ob  
salvation  
not gen  
forced i  
land.

But t  
within t  
their rec  
puzzled  
which w  
of Irela  
not ensu  
swer, an  
tion of  
should  
informed  
come to  
protestan  
much d  
Ireland  
in effect  
that the  
possibly

When  
Irish, be  
if the f  
it was  
were no  
“That  
terms, i  
were aff  
come w  
at libert

whom were Sir Charles Coot and captain Parsons, took shipping for England, on the second day of April, came to Oxford on the seventh, and on the eighth kissed the king's hand; to whose presence when they were admitted, his majesty could not help observing that the Irish protested upon their salvation to him, That at first the conspiracy was not general, but that those of the Pale were forced into rebellion by the governors of Ireland.

But the agents left nothing unsaid or undone within the compass of their abilities to frustrate their reconciliation; though they were effectually puzzled by a question which Charles put to them, which was, "In what condition the protestants of Ireland were, as to defence, if a peace should not ensue?" To this they returned an evasive answer, and though it was doubtless the main question of all, desired *time to consider* of what they should not have come over without being fully informed of.—Yet Sir William Saintleger being come to Oxford told the lord Digby, That the protestant forces that came from Munster were much dissatisfied that the protestant agents from Ireland received so little countenance; whereas, in effect they received every rational satisfaction that the king, circumstanced as he was, could possibly afford them.

When they objected to the propositions of the Irish, being asked, What the protestants would do, if the former should break off the treaty, which it was expected they would do if their terms were not yielded to: they confidently replied,— "That the rebels might be brought to better terms, if they were holden to it; for that they were assured the lord Muskerry had refused to come with limited instructions, but would be at liberty to do as he should see cause." Which assertion

assertion of theirs proved to be a lie; for the Irish agents of the confederacy before they withdrew declared themselves unable to recede from the stipulations marked out to them; though they intimated to the king, "That they believed their principals, when truly informed of his majesty's circumstances would comply with them so far as to moderate their demands to what he might conveniently grant:" and promised, That they would solicit them for that purpose, in consequence of which, a commission under the great seal was sent over to the lord lieutenant, empowering him to make peace with the king's catholic subjects, upon conditions agreeable to the public good and welfare, that might produce such a peace and union in Ireland as might vindicate his royal authority there, and suppress those in arms against him in England and Scotland. And at the same time he was ordered to continue the cessation of arms for twelve months longer.

These being departed, the protestant agents waited on secretary Nicholas, and were by him introduced, for the last time, to his majesty, who told them, "That he had written to the marquis of Ormond concerning the protestants of Ireland, and that he would use his best endeavours for them there, as he did for himself here. (adding) That he meant his good protestant subjects, but not covenanters or their adherents:" whereupon the agents withdrew themselves, little satisfied with the success of their unseasonable embassy.

The lord lieutenant received the commission above-mentioned on the twenty-sixth day of July, but the confederates chose an ecclesiastic to treat for them, Ormond would not admit of, and therefore this and other disputes delayed matters till the sixth of September, when the Irish having insisted on the repeal of part of the statute of 2. Eliz. c. 1. and on other demands

which

H I

which

he dela

to kno

The

that he

and w

but if

ration,

into a

of Poy

necessit

But

for th

many

taking

The ca

which

relaxed

as rigid

he deer

his prin

was lik

land, w

who w

fores w

their li

the lon

turned

not ob

to his

graciou

to the

rebels,

don.

But

believed

resolved

who th

which Ormond conceived to be unreasonable, he delayed the treaty, and wrote over to England to know his majesty's farther pleasure.

The king, in answer, gave him to understand, that he approved his answers to the confederates, and would willingly have him insist on them; but if the Irish could not be brought to moderation, then rather to yield to terms than enter into a new war; but not to yield to the repeal of Poyning's act, unless there were an absolute necessity.

But how desirous soever the king might be for the peace with the Irish, yet there were many obstacles in the way, which prevented its taking place till it was too late to serve him.—The catholics, on their part, still insisted on things which people of any moderation ought to have relaxed in, whilst Ormond, on the other hand, as rigidly refused to comply with any thing which he deemed derogatory to the dignity, religion, or his prince's rights. But this was not all; for there was likewise a party of meddling fanatics in Ireland, who were the scourge of government, and who were always inveighing against those measures which alone could have preserved to them their lives and properties, and these importuned the lord of Inchiquin (who was at that time returned in disgust from England, because he could not obtain the presidency of Munster) to write to his majesty, *modestly* desiring he would be graciously pleased to break his royal word given to the confederates, and again to proclaim them rebels, and exclude them from all hopes of pardon.

But as neither Inchiquin nor those men really believed Charles would take such a step, it was resolved to throw themselves upon the parliament, who thereupon made this earl president of Munster,



ster, chiefly because he had driven the Irish out of Cork, on account of a report which was circulated, that they had plotted with a certain friar to betray the city into the hands of the confederates.

The English account of this plot, as extracted from Sir Richard Gething's dispatch to secretary Lane is as follows: He says, "That one colonel Croning sent to major Muschamp, to give him a meeting, which being done, he offered to open him a way for great preferment, which was no other than by delivering up the fort of Cork, as the lord lieutenant should direct. Muschamp replying, That he desired no easier step to preferment than the lord of Ormond's direction, Croning desired him to meet a certain lord the next day, which he accordingly did, and being obliged to secrecy, that lord told him, That if he would surrender the fort of Cork into his hands he should have the lord marquis of Ormond's warrant for it, and great promotion for his reward:—Muschamp answered, That he was willing to observe the marquis's command, provided he saw an authentic warrant; whereupon the aforesaid lord pulled out a warrant, written (as he said) with the marquis's hand, importing, That whereas the marquis was disabled from putting necessary provisions of victuals and ammunition into the fort of Cork, for the present defence thereof, therefore he (Muschamp) was required to deliver up the same into the hands of the aforesaid lord,—assuring him, That whatever conditions that lord should condescend unto, his excellency would confirm them. Muschamp, though astonished, promised to perform the contents if his lordship would give him the warrant, but he was told he must perform the work first, which when he demurred upon, his  
lordship

lordship said, "That then he might write to his excellency for farther satisfaction."—And so they parted :—But Muschamp discovered all to the lord of Inchiquin, as he was pre-engaged to do; who advised him to send to the lord he had conversed with, for a copy of the warrant in question, when he did so twice, but could get no other answer than, "That it was sent back to the marquis of Ormond."

All these circumstances major Muschamp declared upon oath before a council of war.

In consequence, some of the conspirators were executed, and, as it is said, one of them confessed the design, and the lord Inchiquin made this plot an excuse for his acting in the manner above related,

Yet whatever he might hope from his method of proceeding, it seemed to promise him but little advantage in his first setting out, for notwithstanding the honour conferred on him by the parliament, they not being in a condition to furnish him with proper supplies, he was himself obliged to agree to a temporary cessation of hostilities with the Irish, till the earl of Castlehaven renewed the war in the spring, and in the interim the fort of Duncannon, which had never submitted to the cessation, was taken by general Preston, Sir Arthur Loftus being prevented by a great storm from throwing supplies into the place, even though he got into the harbour.

The noise which the conspiracy to deliver up Cork had made all over the island, and the concern it every where gave the English, together with the pretence of a warrant from the lieutenant being offered for its surrender, gave the marquis of Ormond great anxiety, who conceiving his reputation particularly concerned in the affair, it is said

it is said he wrote an expostulatory letter to the lord, who had tampered with Muschamp, to which his Lordship returned the following answer.

“ May it please your Excellency,

“ I have received your letter of the 25th of the last, wherein you are pleased to command me to deliver my knowledge in a report given out by one major Muschamp, and wherein your excellency, as you are, pleased to take notice, find yourself highly concerned. My lord, before I shall proceed to deliver my knowledge on that business, in the first place, I shall crave your excellency's pardon, if for compassing my own ends it shall appear, that I have made use of your excellency's name without warrant, through which there may arise any blame or blemish to your lordship; this being granted me, all that I can remember is as followeth:

“ It is very true (my lord,) Muschamp employed one of his friends unto me, signifying his dislike of my lord of Inchiquin, whom he found to be entirely in his actions and resolutions for the parliament, and therefore thought fit to seek my advice to put him in a present way, whereby he might secure the fort for his majesty's service. Truly my lord, I was loth to lose such an opportunity to do my country service, and immediately returned him answer to meet me the next day after at a castle of mine, which he performed that day or the next day after, (as near as I can remember,) and upon our meeting *he being sworn to secrecy in all things*, I moved unto him concerning the fort, to which he seemed to incline, making great expression and fervency in all respects to preserve his loyalty, and to observe (upon the least inclination or notice) any commands that should come unto him from your excellency: then upon farther

farther discourse, he fell to wish I had the fort in my possession, so he were sure that the party whereof I was, and myself, were for the king; to which I answered, that by the good countenance and usage the rest of the commissioners and myself had in England, and our coming without rub or interruption from thence, might in some sort assure him thereof; which proving not altogether satisfactory unto him, he replied, That if he had seen any directions from your excellency for him to dispose of the place, he would obey it to the loss of his life, and deliver it either unto me, or any body else your lordship would appoint, which I apprehended a business much conducive to his majesty's service, and the preservation of this province against the rebels in England into whose hands I was assured, the same should be put *as now it is*; and presuming that it would have not been prejudicial to his majesty or your lordship, for me to use any sleight or means to get it out of their hands, I presumed to frame a warrant in your lordship's name, authorising him to surrender me that hold to his majesty's use, and that your lordship had received sufficient assurance from me, to re-deliver it upon demand, which I read unto him; he would have it into his own hands (as he alledged) for his justification; but I insisted, that I would not part with the instrument, until the work were accomplished according to the directions; whereupon he took time to prepare and consider of the business, for two days, as near as I can remember, and then he was to send his farther resolution unto me, or to appoint another meeting, and, since I have not heard any thing from him, but within six days after I could hear that he discovered it unto my lord of Inchiquin, and some others at a council of war.—My lord he thought to catch me, and I was hopeful



ful to catch him; and if in the progress of carriage of the matter, I have said or done any thing that gives your lordship cause of offence, I crave your forgiveness and pardon. Your lordship may be the more indulgent unto me in this particular, for that upon my salvation, I had a full resolution (if I had compassed the place upon these terms) to preserve all the English without any prejudice either in their lives, religion, or goods, and to surrender it unto your lordship or such as you would appoint, whensoever your lordship would call for it. My lord, this is the truth of what passed between Muschamp and me in that place. I have no more to add unto it, but that I desire in this I have forfeited any thing of your lordship's opinion, I may be restored and accounted by your excellency,

Your most humble servant.—

If we can depend for these things on the historian, as to the matter of fact the letter seems to be but a poor excuse, since it is scarcely likely that one of the confederates should be so careful for the king's interest, even before the peace was concluded, but it is rather a pity that we have not a more particular account of this affair respecting the other conspirators, as well as this certain Lord who made himself so busy in the affair, and did so little good to any party.

The Scots of Ulster and all who had taken the covenant, were clamorous against the cessation, and Monroe complained to the parliament that the army who were to be paid every three months were now eighteen months in arrear, "for which reason he said, it was hard to put them off with a cessation, however he promised to avoid hostilities till the earl of Leven was consulted,"—At which remonstrance of his, the supreme council were disgusted that they wrote to the lords justices

That t  
desired  
not be

In the  
licly de  
parliame  
of war  
chester  
the colo  
covenan  
trim, se  
Scotland  
bours en  
recal the

All th  
debates  
received

the parli

bridge,

such a ce

with Orr

Queen, t

would co

they wou

men in h

the sent S

with the

The Earl

the confe

could hop

occasioned

ing with

thing.

But ki

all the wh

he even s

hundred

and condu

Vol. I

That they should consider them as enemies, and desired their proceeding against them as such might not be deemed a violation of the treaty.

In the beginning of the next year Monroe publicly declared that he had a commission from the parliament to govern the province, and a council of war being summoned to meet colonel Chichester at Belfast, he surprised that town because the colonel had issued proclamation against the covenant, on the other hand, the Marquis of Antrim, sent two thousand five hundred Irish to Scotland, in order to keep their Northern neighbours employed at home, and to induce them to recall their forces from Ireland.

All this year was spent in various disputes and debates concerning the terms of peace, which were received in sixteen hundred and forty-five, though the parliament had declared at the treaty of Uxbridge, That the king had no power to make such a cessation. — The confederates not satisfied with Ormond's conduct had now recourse to the Queen, to whom they promised that if his Majesty would condescend to grant their just demands, they would assist him with a body of ten thousand men in his Scotch and English wars, whereupon she sent Sir Kenelm Digby to Rome, to negotiate with the Pope for a peace with the Irish. — The Earl of Glamorgan was also induced to offer the confederates such terms as exceeded any they could hope for from the Lord Lieutenant, which occasioned them to be very backward in treating with him, and to cross him in almost every thing.

But king Charles at this time thought himself all the while so secure of aids from Ireland, that he even sent Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with five hundred horse to Carnarvon, in order to receive and conduct them on their way. But being disappointed

appointed in his hopes, the Lord Digby (secretary of state) wrote to the lord of Muskerry and the rest of the Irish agents, to know the meaning of this unseasonable delay, and to remind them how much the interests and safety of their principals were concerned in not suffering his loyal subjects of England to be crushed by the power of the parliament, who would certainly next turn their arms against them, which would prove their destruction; at the same time observing how unreasonable it was in them, to stand upon such high terms as must needs prove ruinous to his Majesty, and concluded with assuring them, "That were the king's affairs much worse than they were, he would never redeem them by such concessions as must ruin both his honour and conscience, and hazard that religion for which he was resolved both to live and die."

—But this letter had little weight with the confederates, who, while they amused the Marquis of Ormond with public negotiations, had privately concluded a secret peace more to their mind with the Earl of Glamorgan, to the stipulations of which alone they owned themselves bound to adhere, and not even to those, if in future, by any turn of affairs, better terms might prove likely to be granted them.

The treaty, however, was at length concluded with Ormond, and in September the assembly voted, that ten thousand men should be sent to assist the king, and that they would refer to his majesty's pleasure such things about religion as Ormond either had not power or inclination to grant.—Yet these men were never sent, and the Irish alledged as a reason, That they did not undertake the transportation of the ten thousand men to help the king, but intended only their assistance therein.



On the twenty-second day of October, in the same year, the pope's nuncio, John Baptista Rinuccini, archbishop and prince of Firmo, arrived in the river of Kilmair, and coming to Kilkenny was welcomed by the supreme council, and indeed by the catholics in general, who little thought that when they received him, they received their ruin: for this meddling priest was the chief cause of all the mischiefs that followed, and by his unseasonable interference, proved the destruction of the royal party and their own, and brought on their final downfall.

The nuncio was no sooner arrived in the island, than he set himself to work by all possible means to undermine the king's interest, and fearing the Irish should close with Ormond's proposals, he declared if they did, he would take all the bishops with him, and quit the kingdom, which if he had really put in execution, it would have been well for all parties; though it is likely he thought himself safest on shore, having narrowly escaped being taken by a parliament ship in his passage over to Ireland.

In the mean time the English were ignorant of Glamorgan's secret peace, till a copy of it was found among the papers of the titular archbishop of Tuam.

In Connaught this bishop was commissioned by the confederates, and Sir Charles Coot was the parliament's president, but the king's was the lord Dillon of Costilo. Coot having joined with the Lagan forces, marched through Connaught burning and destroying the county, and having taken Sligo, Sir Robert Stewart, by means of the Scots, had the government of that place, which Colonel Audley Mervin who expected it, resented so much that he came over to the lord



lieutenant, and promised in future to become loyal subject to the king.—On the news of the successes of Coot, the Irish sent their army under the command of Lord Taaf, to the relief of Connaught, who took several castles and quickly recovered most part of the country. But the archbishop of Tuam having joined some forces, in order to attempt the re-taking of Sligo, the Irish were defeated before that place, and the archbishop being among the slain, the articles of Glamorgan's peace were found among his papers whereby it first became public.

About this time some overtures of peace were made between Ormond and the parliament's commissioners of Ulster, which came to nothing; but for which the marquis has been highly censured and the matter must certainly be acknowledged to have been rather unseasonable; but the posture of affairs and the eternal disputes he was likely to have with the Irish, before he could come to any terms with them, may in some measure plead his excuse.

And indeed the main business of all propositions which was that of the supplies of men, proceeded so slowly that a presage might be drawn of its never coming to a conclusion.—When the soldiers were ready, there was no shipping to transport them, when there was a probability of effecting their transportation to England, then the soldiers were gone upon other service, and thus the time was trifled away, while Charles's party at home melted from him, having in vain expected reinforcement from his kingdom of Ireland.

A. D.  
1646.

Ormond receiving a letter from his master commending to his especial care the management of his affairs in Ireland, as he should concern most for his honour and service, caused that letter

to be printed, in order to let the confederates see that they must depend on him alone for peace. Yet in the midst of all this, the earl of Argyle and the Scotch commissioners of Ulster being come over, they endeavoured to renew the treaty with him, and his listening to their terms has given occasion to the Irish to charge him with a duplicity of conduct, which indeed, (as I said before) nothing but his embarrassed situation, and their own backwardness in concluding a peace, or granting the promised supplies could excuse.

Wishing to make all possible advantage of the peace, the marquis designed a speedy publication of the articles, whereupon the Irish gave him to understand, "That if he did so, they must be necessitated to publish the articles of Glamorgan's peace."—To which his excellency replied, "If they did so, he would in the name of the king publicly disavow them there, as his majesty had already done in England."

In the mean time the king had surrendered to the Scottish commissioners at Newark, Argyle was recalled from Ireland, and Owen Roe had given the Scots and English a terrible overthrow at Bemburb, who left above three thousand men dead upon the field of battle; a victory which exposed the whole province of Ulster to the army of this general, had he not rather chosen to mind the affairs of the nuncio than his own, and by taking a journey into Leinster lost the fruits of this great victory.

These events altered the face of affairs; for the Scots obliged the king to write to the lord lieutenants, prohibiting him from concluding the peace. Ormond and the council wrote back to England, that they would obey, but that considering the strength of the rebels, and their own

embarrassed circumstances, they hoped to renew the cessation for a month.—The Scots of Ulster at this time again renewing their earnest solicitations, that he would join with them, notwithstanding some disrespectful behaviour of theirs, he answered, “He would do it, if they would submit to *his majesty's authority*.” But as the nature of their commission obliged them to refuse so to do, the matter ended, and they were dismissed without their errand.

But as his majesty's unhappy circumstances alone had caused him to write the letter of prohibition, mentioned above, the lord Digby arriving with his absolute orders, That peace should be concluded with the Irish, it was accordingly obeyed, after his lordship had made a solemn and formal protest of his verbal message, which was entered in the council-book at Dublin.

All things being finished, this peace was at length solemnly proclaimed at Dublin, and Owen Roe was sent for thither to give his assistance towards settling the affairs of the nation; but that general answered, “That he would pay his duty to the lord lieutenant as soon as he had authentic notice of the peace from his former masters.”—And in the mean time the protestant clergy presented a remonstrance of thanks to his excellency for his care of the interest of their religion, and of the state in general.

But the nuncio summoning the Irish clergy to Waterford, declared against this peace, and pronounced all perjured who submitted to it; and even before this, when the herald came to that city it was not suffered to be proclaimed there, and they were told they must first publish it at Kilkenny, which they did, and found it there well received. Then they proceeded to proclaim it

HI  
at Cal  
permitt  
should  
came,  
shut, a  
The m  
“That  
a sediti  
commu  
rabble,  
heralds,  
remaine  
were co  
the law  
huncio f  
And  
congreg  
chievous  
a declar  
ing prop  
“I.  
grounde  
(and be  
sent pea  
selves by  
on the  
confir.ne  
ment.—  
letters ta  
to repea  
act, the  
to be a  
that thos  
“II.  
be made  
ral of t  
continued

at Calan, Fethard, and Cashel, but were not permitted to do so at Clonmell, till Limerick should first have received it, whither when they came, it being evening, they found the gates shut, and could not be admitted till noon.— The mayor and aldermen of the city voted, "That it should be proclaimed:" but one Walsh, a seditious friar opposed it by denouncing excommunication, and gathering together a wild rabble, who assaulted their own mayor and the heralds, and dragged them to prison, where they remained for ten days, and afterwards those who were concerned in this most scandalous breach of the law of nations, received the thanks of the nuncio for what they had done.—

And on the twenty-fourth day of August, the congregation, at Waterford to complete the mischievous work which they had begun, published a declaration to be transmitted with the following propositions to the supreme council.

"I. That the earl of Glamorgan's articles grounded upon the king's authority, be printed, (and be made as firm and obliging as the present peace) That the confederates do oblige themselves by union, oath, and otherwise to insist upon the same articles, and them to maintain till confirmed (with the present peace) next parliament.—And whereas it appears by his majesty's letters taken at Naseby, that Ormond had power to repeal the penal laws, and suspend Poyning's act, the confederates expect the benefits thereof to be added to the articles of the peace, and that those letters be made public."

"II. That the generals of Ulster and Leinster be made general of the horse, and major general of the field, and all other catholic officers continued, if not advanced."

I 4

"III. That



" III. That no garrison be added, nor tax imposed upon them till parliament, without consent of some or one of the commissioners of the interval to see equality."

" IV. That the seventh article of the peace be changed, as touching universities, and that the institution and discipline of them be catholic."

" V. That in all places to be recovered from the parliament, Roman catholics be restored to estates, privileges, &c. and that the free exercise of their religion be secured to them, and all other catholics that shall please to dwell there."

" And if the supreme council do not approve of these propositions, then let them do one of these things, viz. retain their civil and military power within their own quarters independant, as heretofore, until his holiness's and his majesty's pleasure be known, and, in the mean time, both parties pursue the common enemy; or else let them refer it to a general assembly, to be immediately called."

To which propositions the supreme council called on the eleventh of September, returned the following answer:

To the first, " That they will print and publish Glamorgan's articles, and insist on them, as being obligatory to the king, and get them confirmed next parliament; and no interruption shall be given them in the mean time. That the repeal of the penal laws was purposely omitted in the peace, as being *less* than Glamorgan's concessions; and therefore might derogate from them, and the suspension of Poyning's act was by unanimous consent omitted for saving of time."

To the second, " That they shall be sufficiently provided for."

To the third, " No constant garrisons shall be put into corporations, &c. nor levies made, but

for public  
of the  
the corp

To the

they be

the disci

To the

it shall

" And

penal law

not be

possession

This

all the

lord lieut

and that

confeder

rest for

being or

revived,

" And

(says Co

Offory

ordinary

" WE

private

supreme

cern; th

conscienc

defined b

Watrefor

temporal

the appro

of this u

gerous (

wealths,

notwithst

ration of

for public service, and proportionably to the rest of the country, and some of the members of the corporation shall be privy thereunto."

To the fourth, "It is implied, else how can they be, for the use of the catholic youth, if the discipline be not catholic?"

To the fifth, "It is done already, and if not, it shall be taken care of."

"And you shall have security to have the penal laws repealed the next parliament, and shall not be molested in your religion or ecclesiastical possessions till then."

This answer so baffled the congregation, that all the reply they could make was, "That the lord lieutenant was gone out of their quarters; and that the supreme council being part of the confederate body, could be no security to the rest for what they promised; and that the peace being once rejected, could not be reassumed or revived, but by a general assembly."

"And to manifest that they were in earnest, (says Cox) they had prevailed with the bishop of Ossory long before this to publish a very extraordinary instrument in form following:

"WHEREAS, we have in our public and private meetings, at several times declared to the supreme councils and others, whom it may concern; that it was, and is, unlawful, and against conscience, the implying perjury (as it hath been defined by the special act of the convocation at Watreford) to both commonwealths, spiritual, and temporal, to do or concur to any act tending to the approbation, or countenancing the publication of this unlawful and mischievous peace, so dangerous (as it is now articulated) to both commonwealths, spiritual and temporal.—And whereas, notwithstanding our declaration, yea, the declaration of the whole clergy of the kingdom to the contrary,

contrary, the supreme council, and the commissioners have actually proceeded to the publication; yea, and forcing it upon the city by terror and threats, rather than by any free consent or desire of the people. We, having duly considered and taken it to heart, (as it becometh us how erroneous this fact is and appears in catholics, even against God himself. — And what a public contempt of the holy church it appeareth besides the evil it is likely to draw upon this poor kingdom; after a mature deliberation, and consent of our clergy, in detestation of this heinous and scandalous disobedience of the supreme council, and others who have adhered to them in matters of conscience to the holy church, and in hatred of so hurtful and abominable an act. We do by these presents, according to the prescription of the sacred canons, pronounce and command henceforth a general cessation of divine offices throughout all the city and suburbs of Kilkenny, in all churches, monasteries, and houses in them whatsoever.”

DAVID OSSORIESIS.

In this manner was the peace rejected, and Preston was recalled from Connaught by means of the nuncio while the lord lieutenant, who was going from Kilkenny to Carrick, had private intelligence that the Irish designed to intercept him on his return to Dublin, whereupon being denied entrance into the town of Cashell, he marched to Calan, and from thence to Loughlin-bridge, before Owen Roe, who was at the distance of about six miles from Kilkenny, could come up with him; and at last got safe to Dublin, which considering the information he had received from the lord Dillon of Costilo, was more than he had reason to expect.

It is to be noted here, that the earl of Glamorgan had been summoned before the lord lieuten-

tenant

lieutenant and the council at Dublin, on the discovery of the separate treaty which he had negotiated with the confederates; and the lord Digby charging him with a suspicion of high treason, a copy of the articles of that treaty was produced, and Glamorgan, committed to close custody, from whence, however, he was soon released, the state not chusing to deprive his majesty at that juncture of so able a minister, whatever errors he might have been guilty of in the above transaction. Nevertheless, the catholics, who had placed a great dependance on him and his treaty, still relying on the terms he had offered, though they were publicly disavowed by the king, and the lord lieutenant, were greatly irritated at this procedure, indeed they had chiefly on his account never heartily come into any terms which Ormond could propose, and this, together with the nuncio's arrival, was the occasion of all those delays which in the end proved so destructive to their prince, and to themselves. Certain it is, that however this scheme of Glamorgan's was planned, it was 'a most impolitic one, because the English on the one hand, and the Irish on the other equally accused the king and his ministers of double-dealing, and as to the latter, it was certain, by the whole tenor of their conduct, that they would never accept of any terms that Ormond might propose to them if they could be assured of better by the earl of Glamorgan.

With regard to the share which Charles had in these transactions of the earl, which he afterwards publicly disowned, it should seem, upon an impartial examination of all that has been written on that subject, that he was not intirely ignorant of the earl's tampering with the confederates, though at the same time he might be unacquainted



Carte.

unacquainted with the lengths to which he went upon that occasion. In effect, the king, situated as he was, and having every thing to fear from his English rebels, perceiving how slowly the treaty went on in Ireland, and finding the aversion the natives of that country had to his lieutenant, might probably have given private instructions to Glamorgan to palliate affairs, which gave occasion to the earl, who was himself a catholic, to exceed his commission, and to grant the confederates almost every thing they could ask, at the same time flattering himself, that he was by such means doing a signal piece of service, both to his king and country.—

However that was, the Irish still harped upon his concessions, and were resolved even to reject a peace confirmed by themselves, because it was less favourable than the earl's. The nuncio spirited them up to persist in these resolutions, and finding the supreme council willing to act more moderately, caused all of them, except Plunket and Darcy to be imprisoned, and thus he remodelled the Irish republic much in the same manner as Cromwell afterwards did the English one; for he established his own adherents in the room of the imprisoned members, and thus procured to himself the direction of the whole machine.

General Preston, though descended from English blood, and so lately brought into terms of peace and accomodation; now renounced them all, and after some slight excuses for not attending the lord lieutenant on his excellency's summons, in order to consult upon these affairs, he at length entered into a league with Owen Roe, and in answer to the remonstrance made to him on such a conduct, he sent the marquis of Ormond the following extraordinary letter:

“ Ma

HIS

“

“ I N  
instant,  
conclud  
ligion, a  
nance o  
prerogati  
myself,  
sued ne  
my inte  
plying  
ment, v  
surance,  
to comp  
him, w

Kil

Nov. 1

By t  
of an  
eighteen  
ring to  
tended  
William  
prevent  
cessions,  
never to  
sent him

“

“ I F  
lord of  
tired hi  
do with  
themselv  
lid, I  
I cannot  
his hono  
fore Du

" May it please your excellency,

" IN answer to yours of the eighth of this instant, I return, That finding the peace that was concluded and published destructive to my religion, and liberty of the nation, to the maintenance of which, together with his majesty's just prerogatives I had formerly sworn and associated myself, I called together my regiments, and issued new commissions for re-inforcing my army, my intentions being therein no other than complying with my former resolution and engagement, which I desire may be accorded with assurance, whereby we may be the better enabled to comply with his majesty's necessities in serving him, which is the only ambition of,

My lord, your lordship's

Most humble servant,

*Kilka,*

Nov. 10, 1649.

T. PRESTON."

By this time the nuncio had got the command of an Irish army, which amounted to near eighteen thousand men, and these were preparing to march towards Dublin, which they intended at once to storm, of which colonel Fitz Williams gave Ormond notice, advising him to prevent that evil by yielding to Glamorgan's concessions, but the lord lieutenant, who was resolved never to buy a peace at such a price, in return sent him this answer.

" SIR,

" IF I could have assured the clergy of my lord of Glamorgan's conditions, I had not retired hither. They are things I have nothing to do with, nor will have: if they be valid in themselves, they need no corroboration; if invalid, I have no power to give them strength.— I cannot believe general Preston so regardless of his honour as to appear in a state of hostility before Dublin, which were in the highest degree to violate

violate the loyalty he professeth, the many assurances given me by himself, and in his behalf by others, and, above all, the honour of his profession. But if all that can be called faith between king and subject, and between man and man shall be so infamously laid aside, with a hope of reconciliation. Nature will teach us to make the best resistance we can, and God, the sure punisher of treachery and disloyalty, at last will bless our endeavours with success, or our sufferings with patience and honour.

Your servant,

ORMOND."

And afterwards finding how little trust he could repose in the Irish, if in this distress he should refuse any thing they asked, he resolved, with the concurrence of the council to solicit the parliament of England for succours, promising to surrender Dublin into the hands of whomsoever they should appoint, if articles could be agreed upon between the parties; and moreover he sent for aid to the English of Ulster, who were in the same service; but these requiring Tredagh to be put into their hands, and the marquis refusing, little fruit was to be expected from that negotiation.

However, the Irish wishing to prevent any junction of this kind, Owen Roe sent to invite Ormond to treat with the nuncio, which he absolutely refused, and afterwards Preston made some proposals to the lord Digby, and received for answer by Sir Nicholas White, "That if Preston would submit to the peace, the lord lieutenant would break off the other treaty, but could not do it after the provisions of the country were destroyed, because then *he should be tied by the teeth to the parliament, on whom he must depend for bread.*" It was also added, "That he should have reasonable security for religion, but must de-

cline

cline th  
that th  
and no  
churche  
sure (ou  
thereof,  
queen,  
and the  
should h  
as many  
But an  
tenant f  
quarters.

But no  
and Pres  
mand to  
to the p  
in their  
were so  
trifle, and  
and wast  
length, so  
lieutenant  
tant to b  
them, Th  
Newry, C  
protestants  
federate ca  
Richard be  
Digby ent  
concerning  
"Yester  
hed our  
army, and  
Roe's army  
"The m  
claration,  
y his maj  
entions v

cline the extravagant expectations of the nuncio; that they should have the penal laws repealed, and not be disturbed in the possession of the churches they then had, until his majesty's pleasure (out of restraint) were known. And for security thereof, they should have the engagement of the queen, the prince of Wales, the crown of France, and the marquis of Clanrickard, and that Preston should have a considerable command, and so should as many of Owen Roe's officers as would comply. But an answer was to be sent before the lord lieutenant should be necessitated to burn his own quarters."

But notwithstanding this message on the one side, and Preston's offering to surrender up his command to the earl of Clanrickard, and to submit to the peace, if the catholics might be secured in their religion, on the other, yet both parties were so jealous of each other that they did but wrifle, and so the Irish army continued advancing, and wasting Ormond's quarters. However, at length, some proposals were sent, but the lord lieutenant and council thought them too exorbitant to be complied with, as it was specified in them. That Dublin, Tredagh (Drogheda) Trim, Newry, Carlingford, and all garrisons within the protestants quarters should be garrisoned by confederate catholics.—However, the lord Clanrickard being sent for, he, together with the lord Digby entered into a negotiation with the Irish, concerning which the latter writes thus :

"Yesterday the lord Clanrickard, and I finished our negotiations, to which Preston and his army, and Sir Phelim O'Neal, and part of Owen Roe's army will submit.—

"The most that will be expected from you, is a declaration, That whereas it is well known, even by his majesty's printed letters, that his gracious intentions were to secure his catholic subjects of  
this



this kingdom in the free exercise of their religion by repeal of the penalties of the law against them, (which in the last articles was left out by the subtlety of some of their own party, who intended to found this mischief upon it) that it was far from his majesty's intentions or yours to take advantage of the omission, but that they may rest as secure of his majesty's favour in the repeal of the said penalties, as it had been positively expressed in the articles, and that for the matter of their churches and ecclesiastical possessions it being referred to the king, it was far from your intention to molest them till his majesty's pleasure should be known in that particular. As for your engagement, to obey his majesty's free commands, the queen, and prince of Wales, and my significations to the advantage of the catholics during his majesty's want of freedom, and that you will not obey such commands to the prejudice of what is undertaken, as shall be procured by advantage of his majesty's want of freedom, your letter to the marquis of Clanrickard will suffice, &c."

But while things were thus situate, the English parliament thinking the application made to them by the marquis, as an affair which ought by no means to be slighted, sent over commissioners to treat concerning the surrender of Dublin, a matter which at this time not a little perplexed the proposer, who had now two treaties upon his hands at once, and those of so opposite a nature, that it required his utmost address to extricate himself from the dilemma occasioned by such circumstances.

On the arrival of these commissioners, they sent to Ormond, to give him to understand, "That the parliament would take protestants of Ireland into their protection, and if he would surrender up the sword and garrison in four days, then

Ormond

H I  
Ormond  
have i  
public  
all deb  
followe  
pleased,  
pounds  
he coul  
estate;  
if he v  
ment;  
in Eng  
cath,  
thing d  
time.

But  
their int  
Ormond  
advanta  
his com  
tive ord  
no concl  
not suff  
casion,  
positions

1. Th  
and put  
ceive or  
vernor  
law.

That  
tuals sho  
army.

That  
soldiers  
unless a  
and, till  
vernmen

Vol. I

Ormond should enjoy his estate, and should also have indemnity from debts contracted on the public account, and should be protected against all debts for a twelvemonth. That he and his followers should have passports to go where they pleased, that Ormond should have two thousand pounds *per annum*, for five years, and longer, if he could not receive so much out of his own estate; and that Ormond might live in England, if he would submit to all ordinances of parliament; and that for a twelvemonth he might live in England, and should not be pressed to any oath, he engaging his honour not to do any thing disserviceable to the parliament during that time.

But after these commissioners had produced their instructions, and proposed certain articles to Ormond, the latter not thinking these sufficiently advantageous to himself, and the persons under his command; and not having the king's positive order for the surrender, they could come to no conclusion. However, that the kingdom might not suffer by any delay these disputes might occasion, the lord lieutenant made the following propositions:

1. That the officers and soldiers might be landed, and put in one or more garrisons, and to receive orders from his excellency, and the governor of the place, and submit to the martial law.——

That three thousand pounds in money and victuals should be lent his excellency to support the army.

That the commissioners should engage their soldiers should remove at the end of six weeks, unless an agreement was made in the mean time, and, till then, should do no prejudice to the government.

Vol. II.

K

That

" And that his lordship would engage for their having free egress at the expiration of the stipulated time.

But the commissioners, instead of agreeing to these proposals,, broke off the treaty, and went to Ulster with their supplies of men and money.

When this negotiation was ended, that with Preston was again renewed, and came to a reconciliation by the mediation of Clanrickard, and the latter was appointed lieutenant-general, and received as such by Preston's forces.---However, the peace was not yet received by Owen Roe, who, returning into Queen's County, ravaged all the country; and while Preston remained in his camp, he and his officers signed an agreement to observe the peace, and then being made major-general, he invited the lord lieutenant to march with him to reduce Kilkenny and Waterford to conformity, to which Ormond consented; but being detained from complying at the time appointed by sickness, when at last he was preparing to meet the general, he found he had decamped from Naas, and afterwards, when he would have seen him at Castle Dermod, the council and congregation at Kilkenny, having declared against this reconciliation, Preston would not come thither, alledging that his officers were not excommunication-proof. But on the nineteenth day of December he published a declaration, wherein the reasons he urged for his defection were, That the marquis of Clanrickard had not given security for the free exercise of religion; that an Irish garrison was not admitted into Dublin, &c. and that he thought himself bound, by the oath of association, to obey the council, congregation, and general assembly, who had issued, by this time a kind of

H I  
of dec  
tholics  
as lay  
This  
was eve  
between  
standing  
to Dub  
meath,  
expressin  
the cath  
but dec  
dered, h  
ject, to  
be made  
At len  
the lord  
of this  
reconcili  
general  
following  
instead  
peace un  
nuncio a  
they decl  
concludin  
sedly carr  
impeache  
of being  
thing in  
ever, his  
ecclesiasti  
else they  
assembly.  
Yet in  
the lord  
lin and o  
soldiers in

of declaration of war, commanding all good catholics to kill and damage the English as much as lay in their power.

This was the blessed work of the nuncio, who was ever most industrious in widening the breach between the English and Irish. --- And matters standing thus, the marquis, instead of repairing to Dublin, marched his little party into Westmeath, from whence he wrote to the Lord Digby, expressing his desire that the king would allow the catholics the quiet exercise of their religion, but declaring that if any thing more were ordered, he would resort to the liberty of a subject, to obey by suffering rather than he would be made the instrument of granting it.

At length, however, Ormond was persuaded by the lord Muskering and others, who disapproved of this breach of the peace, to conclude a short reconciliation, and wait the calling of a new general assembly, which meeting in the January following, he sent letters of remonstrance; but instead of attending to these, they declared the peace utterly null and void, and justified the nuncio and the clergy in breaking it, though they declared the commissioners had acted well in concluding it. In effect, all things were confusedly carried on in this assembly, where Preston was impeached by the bishop of Fernes, on account of being rather more moderate, and saying something in support of what he had done. --However, his friends being numerous, obliged the ecclesiastic to withdraw that impeachment, or else they would have gone to blows, even in the assembly.

Yet in February they again sent proposals to the lord lieutenant, but demanding that Dublin and other fortified cities should receive their soldiers in garrison with other matters repugnant



to Ormond's principles, these were rejected.-- And as by this time the king had actually ordered Ormond, if he could not keep Dublin rather to surrender to the parliament than to the Irish, the council resolved, That the lord lieutenant should renew his treaty with the parliament whereupon he wrote to two of their commissioners for this purpose, declaring, " That he was now satisfied in that point, which before he scrupled, viz. The king's orders. On which the parliament ordered,, That if Ormond would give one of his sons as hostage for performance together with the earl of Roscommon, colonel Chichester, and Sir James Ware, then Coote's regiment of horse, and Monroe's and Fenwick's regiments of foot; at that time in Ulster, should move to his assistance, and the lord of Inchiquin and Ardes should make a diversion. And accordingly, the lord Richard Butler, being sent to Chester, the three regiments were received into Ormond's garrison, and the lord of Inchiquin sent him twenty barrels of powder and half ton of matches; and in the middle of March the earl of Roscommon, colonel Chichester, and Sir James Warren were sent to the committee at Derby-house, to be hostages for performance of the agreement with the parliament.

Upon the same day that this was done, the Irish parliament shewed their approbation for this step of Ormond's in a remonstrance, wherein they said, that " They, the lords and commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, did acknowledge his lordship's singular goodness to THEM the protestant party, and to such as adhered to them who had been preserved even to that day, under God, by his excellency's provident and pious care; which preservation had not been effected without vast expence of his own estate; and that

HI

when  
sufficient  
enemy  
his ca  
and w  
by a  
with t  
of hos  
dear se  
But  
these t  
derates  
both a  
king a  
will ap  
ing an  
by the  
in the  
part o  
dated a  
embassy

impriso  
rying to  
deserve  
catholic

\* Quod  
pite detru  
licus, ad F  
rum subsid  
tholicis Hi  
prometur.

Ut purg  
per catholi  
facile, ni  
Autumno  
nostri regis  
Pax ideo  
nia referun  
majestatis  
mus libenti  
tre religio  
& a majest  
non esset.

when he found the remaining strength not sufficient to cope with the bloody and perfidious enemy, rather than they should perish, he had in his care, transferred to those that were both *able* and *willing* to preserve them, and that not barely by a casting them off, but by complying so far with them, that he had not denied their desires of hostages, and among them one of his most dear sons, &c. &c.—

But while the Irish parliament were giving these tokens of applause to Ormond, the confederates were every where complaining of him both at home and abroad, and addressing the king and queen with a list of grievances, as will appear by the following papers, the first being an extract of a letter to her majesty, sent by the bishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Elphin, in the name of the congregation; the second, part of a letter to the marquis of Clanrickard, dated at Paris; and the last, an account of the embassy of Mr. Geoffrey Baron to France.

—\* THAT Glamorgan was, for this only reason, imprisoned. That being a catholic, he was carrying to the king such catholic succours as might deserve his majesty's favour to himself, and the catholics of Ireland.

\* Quod Glamorganus eo solo capite detrudi in carcerem quod catholicus, ad Regem sibi & catholicorum subsidia, quibus & sibi & catholicis Hibernio regios favores prometur.

Ut purgata ab hoste communi per catholicos Hiberni, quod satis facile, ni fallimur, poterat hoc Autumno fieri, unanimes ire ad nostri regis subsidium.

Pax ideo nobis displicet quia omnia referuntur ad arbitrium suæ majestatis (i. e. regis) quod subiremus libentissime si ab hostibus nostre religionis undequaq. cincta, & a majestate vestra tam præcul non esset.

Interim subjeci exercitus, arma, castra, omnium confederatorum jurisdictionem, ipsum consilium supremum soli authoritati & dominio marchionis Ormonie proregis protestantis.

Non modica nobis restat spes & fiducia in majestatis vestre benigna & efficacissima intercessione apud summum pontificem, ut, præscripto protestantibus limite, intra quem eorum arma & imperium contineantur, ne religionem catholicam, ecclesias, ecclesiasticasq; personas ac res turbate liceat.

That the kingdom being cleared of the common enemy by the catholics of Ireland, which we supposed might easily be done this summer, we may all unanimously go to assist our king.

That we dislike the late peace, because all things are referred to the pleasure of the king, which we would readily submit to, if he were not environed on all sides with the enemies of our religion, and so far off from your majesty.

And, in the mean time, the armies, garrisons, and jurisdiction of the confederates, even the supreme council itself, are subjected to the sole authority and dominion of the marquis of Ormond, a protestant viceroy.

But we have no small hopes of confidence in your majesty's gracious and effectual intercession with the pope, that bounds being set to the protestants, within which their armies and government may be confined, they may not disturb the catholic religion, the church, nor ecclesiastical persons or things."

THE new agent of the supreme council, colonel Fitz Williams, is very violent in his office. It is believed that Hartegan hath enchanted or infected the employment; insomuch, that all his successors prove like to him. He, the colonel, is very liberal in the disposing of places and offices in the kingdom.—He told the countess of Arundel, That he could make the earl her husband, if he pleased, lord lieutenant; and it is imagined, he says the same thing of the marquis of Worcester to his friends,—that is, that he shall be lord lieutenant; and this was just Hartegan's way of proceeding. Shall we never have a discreet person come from those parts,—who may impartially do our affairs here? Such a party would advantage and honour your country.

Colonel

Colo  
" Tha  
Baron  
puissant  
there w  
Scots,  
them."

And  
Dublin  
queen.—  
had sen  
referenc  
rickard,  
advice a  
jesty's a

Colo  
his frie  
from o  
rel, and  
adhering  
party ;  
was ne  
lord of

—M  
Friday  
next da  
or thre  
till the  
an acc  
That f  
ters he  
scruple  
a sworn  
crecy.  
peruse  
chairma  
was rec  
assembly

Colonel Fitz Williams hath said in great heat, "That Dublin should be taken as soon as Mr. Baron returned; and that the confederates are so puissant, that he wisheth with all his heart that there were in Ireland forty thousand English and Scots, that they might have the honour to beat them."

And another said, The confederates had taken Dublin, if it were not for their respect to the queen.—Her majesty declares that though she had sent Mr. Winter Grant, yet it is only with reference to the marquisses of Ormond and Clanrickard, to be consulted with; and without their advice and consent he is not to engage her majesty's authority in any one thing.

Colonel Fitz Williams endeavoureth now, by his friends, to get a good opinion in this court from our queen, and he clasheth with Dr. Tirrel, and pretendeth at court that he suffers for adhering to my lord of Ormond, and our king's party;—however, at his arrival here, Hartegan was not more violent than he was against my lord of Ormond, and that party.

—MR. Geoffrey Baron landed at Waterford on Friday the eleventh of March, and came the next day to Kilkenny, and being indisposed two or three days, he came not into the assembly till the sixteenth, at which time, being asked for an account of his negotiation, he answered,—That for the most part it consisted in the letters he had brought with him, and made some scruple to communicate them to any other than a sworn council, because the matter required secrecy. At length a committee was appointed to peruse the letters; and Sir Lucas Dillon, the chairman, reported from that committee, that it was requisite the letters should be read in the assembly, which was done accordingly.



The first was a letter of the thirtieth of January from Dr. Tirrell, (one of the Irish agents importing, that the rupture of the late peace did at first seem to both the courts in France to trench for upon the public faith of the kingdom; but when some slight objections were solidly refuted and full information given, then the rejection of the peace was confirmed by the king and queen of France, and by cardinal Mazarine; but when they heard of the return of the Irish forces from Dublin, they suspected their weakness and divisions, wherefore he advises them to unite their forces, and attack that city again, and make themselves masters of the kingdom; and thereby they would regain the goodwill of the king and queen of France; and that the queen and prince of Wales are coming to Ireland; and advises not to agree upon slight terms, for when they come, the Irish will have their wills.

The second was, a letter from the king of France of the twenty-sixth of September to this effect, That being well informed of the inclinations the kingdom hath to him, he will take a particular care of their interests, &c.

The third and fourth were from cardinal Mazarine, containing general promises; and that the settlement of his majesty of England would rejoice the king of France.

The fifth was from Colonel Fitz-Williams, assuring them, That if they would provide a good reception from the Queen and Prince in Ireland, most of their demands would be granted. That the Queen denies, to have any power to treat with the Irish; but that she will send for it. That the French will send ships for two thousand Irish.— That if they aid Antrim in Scotland, the Scots must look to their own country; and without them the parliamentarians can do the Irish no  
hurt.

hurt.  
will cer  
decline  
sure the

Only  
open in  
parliam  
against  
that all

Thes  
embassy  
not sen  
France  
to solli  
promise  
period  
off from  
council  
them t  
could p

In t  
dred a  
giment  
mond,  
colonels  
by the  
men, v  
the eig  
cluded,  
Tredag  
sioners,  
livered  
land a

So g  
to the  
prince  
had sca  
render

hurt. That the Presbyterians and Independents will certainly fall out, that the Irish should not decline any of their proposals for peace; for he is sure they shall have all.

Only he supplicates them to leave one church open in Dublin for the king's religion, lest the parliament take advantage to incense the English against the king, queen and prince, if they should shut all our doors against them."

These letters being read, Mr. Baron, said his embassy was on two points: first, to excuse the not sending three thousand men to the king of France according to promise, and the second was to solicit aids from the queen, which at first she promised sufficient to bring the war to the wished period; but at the second audience she was quite off from it, being so persuaded by her protestant councillors. And that Cardinal Mazarine sent them twelve thousand livres, which was all he could procure.—

In the beginning of the year seventeen hundred and forty-seven arrived colonel Castle's regiment, sent by the parliament in aid of Ormond, which was followed by the regiments of the colonels Hungerford and Long, and afterwards by the commissioners with above two thousand men, whereof five hundred were horse;—on the eighteenth day of June the treaty was concluded, when his lordship delivered up Dublin, Tredagh, and his other garrisons to the commissioners. And on the twenty-fifth of July he delivered up the regalia, and embarked for England according to agreement.

So great was the blindness of the confederates to their own interest, as well as that of the prince whom they professed to serve, that they had scarcely taken one step to prevent this surrender of Ormond's, though they loaded him with

with reproaches for having made it: On the contrary, they slighted an opportunity which was yet given them of making peace with the king even when the supplies of the parliament were not all arrived, and the reception of the rest might have been prevented. Mr. Winter Gran was sent over just at this juncture from the queen with instructions, which were to be varied, used, or rejected, just as the circumstance might incline the lord lieutenant to determine and to deliver or suppress the letters which he had to the nuncio and the confederates, entirely according to his pleasure, bringing with him also several blanks for the lord lieutenant to fill up at discretion. And this agent went to the confederates with assurances, on the fifteenth day of April, that if they would agree to a cessation Ormond would not receive any more of the parliament's troops in three weeks from the eighteenth day of that month. But this proposal they rejected, and demanded the same high terms which they had before stood upon, saying, That they must insist on the propositions of the congregation of Waterford, which they knew Ormond had already refused, and was likely, from the tenor of his whole conduct, still to do so, and indeed it fell out, by which means they lent a helping hand to their own ruin.

In the mean time the new possessors of Dublin made colonel Michael Jones governor of that city, and made two proclamations, one against the use of the common-prayer, and the other against the army's living on free quarters; the first of these occasioned a declaration from the episcopal clergy, and the last raised a mutiny among the soldiers.

Jones marching with a party out of Dublin was met by general Preston within twelve miles

of the city, and driven back again with great laughter; and the consequence of the victory was, that the latter got possession of most of the garrisons to about eight miles from thence, and afterwards he besieged Trim; to divert him from which Jones again issued forth, burned Castle Martin, and took spoil from Castlehaven, but was so resolutely attacked in the rear by the Irish near Johnstown, that he sustained great loss, and with much difficulty made a retreat before the conquering enemy.

Notwithstanding these checks he resolved, in the beginning of August, to march with three thousand four hundred foot, and some regiments of horse, to the relief of Trim, of which Preston receiving intelligence, immediately raised the siege, and endeavoured, by a manœuvre he had projected, to get between the English army and Dublin, which place he doubted not but he should surprise, while the troops were vainly hastening to the relief of the other. Indeed how much more some speak in praise of Jones's generalship, he committed a great error here, in leaving the capital thus exposed, while he proceeded as if he were to brave the enemy. The true source of this conduct of his seems to have been the anger and shame with which he levelled at the disgrace he had sustained, that impelled him to such an attempt as succeeded infinitely better than the wisdom of it deserved;—for, being time enough apprized of Preston's intention, he followed him as quickly as possible, as being the only method to prevent his design, which, had it taken place, must have been accounted a great piece of generalship. However, as Jones had received strong reinforcements, overtaking his adversary at Dungan-hill, he offered him battle, which the other did not decline, and after a smart engagement, victory



tory declared for the parliamentarians, and the confederates were obliged to retire with the loss of a great part of their army, in killed, wounded and prisoners.

One would scarcely think it credible that any of the Irish catholics should rejoice at the news of this defeat, yet historians tell us it gave the nuncio and his party great pleasure. — This troublesome ecclesiastic, who was the bane of the country, had renewed the distinction between old and new Irish, encouraging the former to thwart the latter in every thing, and, in consequence Owen Roe O'Neal, of whom we have spoken so often, was his favourite general: Owen Roe was certainly a great commander; but he was so much bigotted to the church, that, merely for the sake of obliging the clergy, he would at the same time refuse peace, and forego the advantages that he had gained in war. He was among those that congratulated themselves on the defeat of a general who was descended from English blood, had an army chiefly composed of those of the Pale, and by the bigotted nuntiatists was thought but lukewarm in the great concern of religion.

This Owen Roe now becoming general of the three provinces, marched into Leinster; and Jones being reinforced by Monk, went out of Dublin to meet him; but the Irishman was too much of an experienced general to hazard a battle after a recent defeat, on the contrary, he contented himself with only harassing his enemies, wherever he had a manifest advantage, and so hovered round them without suffering himself to be drawn on to an engagement. And soon after, while Jones was gone on an expedition into the county of Wickland, he ravaged and burned the country almost to the gates of Dublin.

In the summer of this year, Inchiquin had taken Dramnanna, Capoquin, and Dungarvan, and proceeded successfully till his provisions failed him.—Having got recruits, he again went out in the beginning of August, and took Cahir by surrender, and the rock of Cashell by storm, where he put many Irish to the sword, among whom were about twenty priests and friars, but was on the same account as before again obliged to return quarters.—In the month of September, after receiving a great reinforcement, he marched at the head of above five thousand men to meet lord Taaf, whom he encountered and defeated, and received a letter of thanks from the parliament, together with a present of a thousand pounds.

The confederates much alarmed at the ill success of their arms, and the divisions which perplexed their government began to be more willing to treat of peace;—but their delay of succours having ruined the king's affairs, and his majesty being now a prisoner in the isle of Wight, and his lieutenant departed, they scarcely knew where to apply themselves; at length, however, the supreme council resolved to propose condition to the queen and prince of Wales, then in France, desiring them, amongst other things, To send over a catholic lord lieutenant;—but if they declined the treaty then it was determined to solicit aid from foreign princes, and they declared also that they would send an account of the deplorable situation of the nation to his holiness the pope, on whom they placed likewise some dependance, as his nuncio was at that time in a manner at the head of affairs among them.

The marquis of Antrim, the viscount Muskerry, and Geoffrey Baron were sent to France, while the bishop of Fernes, and Nicholas Plunkett were ordered to Rome, and afterwards ambassadors

sadors to France, in consequence of these resolutions.

The earl of Inchiquin, though victorious, became at this time much inclined to treat with the Irish. He grew jealous of the parliament as he saw independancy prevailing, which was likely to level all the nobility of the three kingdoms, and to plunge the state into the very depth of anarchy and confusion;—and this inclination of his being improved by some of the king's friends and urged by his necessity of supplies, he first sent a spirited remonstrance to the parliament and afterwards gave evident tokens of his design to quit their service, by imprisoning several of the officers who were the greatest favourers of their cause, and preparing himself at all points to declare for his majesty, as soon as he could find a proper opportunity. And besides, finding his design approved by the covenanters of Scotland who had by this time separated themselves from the interest of the independents, and begun to secretly wish for a reconciliation with their sovereign, he set himself about his work cheerfully by concluding a cessation of arms with the Irish in return for which he was voted a rebel and a traitor by the parliament, who were, however, as he judged too much taken up with their own disputes at home, to give him at this time any kind of molestation. Yet this cessation was opposed by the nuncio as far as he was able (as indeed was every thing that tended to the good of the Irish) but when coming to Kilkenny, he found he could not persuade the supreme council into his opinion, he privately left that town, and fled to the camp of Owen Roe: after which he issued an excommunication (according to his usual custom) against all that were concerned in, or that accepted of this

this cessation, from which the Irish appealed to his holiness, and likewise proposed some queries concerning it to the bishop of Ossory, which were satisfactorily answered.

The nuncio had almost immediately after this most strange step sent notice that he designed to hold a national synod at Athlone, on which, to his great vexation and surprise, the supreme council sent the marquis of Clanrickard and general Preston to besiege that town, who took it before Owen Roe could come up.

But the indefatigable nuncio, not thus to be baffled with impunity, after the taking of Athlone advanced to Gallaway, where, as he understood the town had submitted to the cessation, he caused the ensigns of authority to be taken from the mayor, but this creating a vast tumult, they were obliged to be restored, and his reverence having commanded the church doors to be shut, the archbishop or Tuam caused them to be broken open by force, and some lives were lost in the struggle.

The friars were every where enjoined to preach inevitable damnation to those who had agreed to the truce, and the nuncio hearing that some of the more moderate, even of his own party, hesitated about coming to blows and bloodshed with people of their own country and religion, (and perhaps even their relations) on such an account as this, he published a formal instrument, beginning, *In the name of God: Amen*; wherein he exhorted them in a most Christian like manner, neither to mind the loss of their own goods, the plundering those of others, nor even "*the slaughter of some or perhaps of many*, in so good a cause.— Such violent proceedings must necessarily have rendered him odious to all the sensible and thinking



ing part of the nation; yet Owen Roe and his party were so strongly attached to his interest, and so firmly resolved to ruin even this new supreme council for treading in the steps of the old one, that the above-mentioned general even made a truce with Jones, in order to effect it; and Cor mentions an intercepted letter of his to the protestant bishop of Clogher in the following words:

“To the right reverend the bishop of Clogher,  
“Make haste to Ballyfannan, and thence to Catherlogh, and I will endeavour to defend you. Costollogh is joined with Preston, and so is a part of Inchiquin’s army, all which I will so keep employed, that they shall not be able to hurt you.”

OWEN O’NEAL.”

And thus were the Irish deprived of the service of the best general they had, by the intrigues of the pope’s minister, who never ceased meddling in their affairs till he had effectually ruined them.

In the mean time, some of Inchiquin’s officers (whether by his order is uncertain) made offers to return to the parliament, if they would pardon their revolt, and also pay their arrears, on which account colonel Edmund Temple was sent over to treat with the earl; but the prince’s secretary, being beforehand with him, entirely fixed Inchiquin in his majesty’s service, insomuch that the officers who projected to return to the parliament, were imprisoned, and all negotiations with them broken off.

While these things were passing in Ireland, the marquis of Ormond then in England had, by the king’s desire, met the Scottish commissioners near Marlow, and had agreed with them that they should make head in Scotland, while he would

H I  
find th  
The m  
your w  
der of  
the cap  
deavour  
which h  
tion.  
Thoug  
Heutenan  
so many  
his priva  
could ur  
ter end  
mond ag  
with mar  
and soon  
his maje  
their requ  
commissio  
which the  
if they v  
bringing t  
On the  
returning t  
were beyo  
to seize u  
of loyalty,  
and then f  
In the  
Roe were  
of the sup  
uncio. T  
his forces  
to relieve  
ut not wi  
tion (thoug  
after this,  
Vol. II.

find the means of serving his majesty in Ireland. The marquis therefore being still as much in favour with his royal master as before the surrender of Dublin, was now sent over to Ireland in the capacity of lord lieutenant, in order to endeavour to settle the affairs of that kingdom, which he understood were in a miserable condition.

Though the Irish had requested a catholic lord lieutenant might be sent them, yet the king had so many reasons for restoring his favourite, as in his private opinion outweighed every thing they could urge to the contrary. And so at the latter end of September, James, marquis of Ormond again landed in Ireland, and was received with marks of respect by Inchiquin and his party, and soon after his arrival, he wrote to them that his majesty had sent him in compliance with their request, and desired that they would send commissioners to Carrick, to treat of a peace; which they accordingly did, and now seemed as if they were really in earnest in the design of bringing the matter to a speedy conclusion.

On the first notice of Ormond's intention of returning to Ireland, the parliament's commissioners were beyond measure alarmed, and took occasion to seize upon several persons *that were suspected of loyalty*, whom they first confined in Ireland, and then sent over prisoners to England.

In the mean time, general Preston and Owen Roe were both in action, the one on the part of the supreme council, the other on that of theuncio. The latter being baffled, and finding his forces much weakened, failing in his attempts to relieve his friends, took Carrickdrumrusk, but not without great loss, and put all the garrison (though they were Catholics) to the sword. After this, finding the supreme council's party

Vol. II. L every

every where too strong for him, he is said to have offered a cessation to colonel Jones, and even to have engaged to carry his army over to Spain if it should prove agreeable to that officer.—

And though some highlanders belonging to the marquis of Antrim, together with the Birnes and Cavanaghs joined the nunciotists, yet they were at length suppressed by the supreme council, who were now successful in most of their undertakings.—

As for Jones, he made himself master of Ballyshannon, and other places, while colonel Monroe surprized Monroe in Carrickfergus, and sent him prisoner to London; afterwards Belfast and Coleraine fell into his hands, for which services he was made governor of Carrickfergus, and besides received a gratuity of five hundred pounds from the English parliament, who were now in open hostility with the Scots their former allies.

The ambassador to the pope returned with little success.—His holiness said, As to religion, it was not proper for him to prescribe terms such as heretics would grant, and that he would grant money on the score of religion, but none on the event of war; and when he heard how the Irish catholics were split into parties, he added, That whatever subsidy he might be disposed to grant, he knew not to which of them he ought to send it.—[So certain was his infallibility!] Indeed one would have thought the Irish might have perceived what little good would accrue to them from treaties with catholic powers abroad, and on the contrary, how morally certain they might have been of success if they would have been united among themselves at home under their lawful head, the governor appointed by his majesty, to whose royal person they had always professed so much zeal and attachment. But they were

were led by fatal delusion into a phrensy which nothing less than the loss of their best blood could cure.—As to the pope, they had the least to thank him for of any body. He had first led them into these fatal errors, by sending over an ambassador who had brought distress and misery upon them by insisting on their rejecting a safe and honourable accommodation with their sovereign, and who was indeed every way unfit for his office:—lavish of his excommunications, he used to thunder them out on every trivial occasion even on such as concerned only his own private property. Swayed by a furious unchristian spirit, and a bigot zeal; puffed up with pride, and abounding in malice, he was determined to govern nations, and command armies, and yet was for ever meeting with rebuke and disgrace in his exalted undertakings. Nothing less than an Egyptian darkness must certainly have reigned in the minds of those people who could submit to the mandates of such a man, or conceive any sanctity either in his person or authority.—As to his private character, it was evidently a bad one; and as to his public trust, he had so scandalously abused it, as to make it at once both tyrannous and ridiculous; and even the pope himself entertained a bad opinion of him, as appeared in the sequel, when he was properly informed of his proceedings.—Yet to this man did a great part of the Irish nation sacrifice their peace and honour, and add to the wide wounds already given to their bleeding country.

But to return.—A letter of Ormond's to the supreme council being intercepted and brought to the parliament, they caused it to be shewn to his majesty, then under their custody in the island of Wight, and in consequence of its contents, in-



sisted that the king should write to the lord lieutenant to prohibit him from proceeding any farther in his treaty with the Irish; but Ormond having already received an injunction not to obey any written order which might be sent him by the king whilst under confinement, proceeded with his negotiations notwithstanding this prohibition, and removing to his castle of Kilkenny, the peace was concluded, but not till the middle of January, when it was at last ratified, to the great joy of Ormond, who assured himself that he should now be able to raise twenty thousand men for his prince's service, which might be the means of delivering him out of the hands of his implacable enemies.

But, alas! he was miserably deceived and disappointed.—Before he could possibly draw together any forces, whereby to attack or intimidate the parliament, his royal master was no more. Deceived, betrayed, worse than butchered or assassinated, he fell the victim of his own honour and confidence, and falling, left a mark of indelible infamy on his murderers.—

The duke of Hamilton having invaded England with an army of Scots, Cromwell marching against him, in his absence the interest of the presbyterian party, who now desired to treat with the king, prevailing over that of the Independents who were averse to any royal government, several messages passed between Charles and the two houses, who at length agreed to enter into a treaty with the king, after he should have signed certain preliminary bills, and even voted "That his majesty might return with honour and safety to his capital." But the duke of Hamilton, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who had invaded England in favour of his sovereign, being totally de-

H I  
seated  
notific  
whole  
again  
houses  
they f  
thwart  
well a  
paid li  
sent th  
directl  
account  
for the  
the gre  
which  
sovereig  
conster  
demanc  
and he  
London  
was re  
sent of  
him, an  
plaints  
vanced  
liament  
thought  
was tha  
services.  
At le  
parliame  
Rump)  
a high  
who, w  
expecte  
ver con  
to call  
and the

seated by Cromwell's army, that general no sooner notified his return, than the Independants, of whose faction he was the great support, began again to rear their heads, and though the two houses still continued to address the king, yet they found their measures in a great degree thwarted, and their persons threatened.—Cromwell all this time finding the Presbyterian party paid little regard to a remonstrance that he had sent them, gave them notice that he should march directly towards the capital, in order to call to account those who had adopted such a conduct, for the insult. This message threw them into the greatest embarrassment. The city of London, which had so often and so successfully defied its sovereign, was now struck with the most extreme consternation. The sum of forty thousand pounds demanded by the general was promised him, and he was requested to come no nearer to London, but this was not granted. The king was removed by his express orders, without consent of the parliament, who were treating with him, and so far was he from regarding their complaints of such underhand dealings, that he advanced to Westminster, where he garbled the parliament, and having arrested such members as he thought proper, took his seat in the house, and was thanked by the Independant members for his services.

At length this rag-end of a remnant of an illegal parliament (afterwards aptly called in derision, The Rump) presumed to constitute what they termed a high court of justice, to try their sovereign, who, whilst he was on his road, had every hour expected to be privately assassinated, but had never conceived that his enemies would presume to call majesty itself before their mock-tribunal, and thereby make their infamy as public, as it

was their boast his fate should be.—However, at length the fatal day came, and Charles (having previously missed an opportunity of escaping on his way by a horse being lamed, which was intended to convey him far from these bloody savages) was at length brought before their accursed courts, where with a spirit exceeding that which he had shewn in his most prosperous days, a spirit truly heroic, as rising under the weight of afflictions, with which his generous breast was furcharged, the monarch, great and amiable in distress, with equal dignity of soul and generosity of sentiment, declared himself willing to give satisfaction to his people, but absolutely refused to render the least answer to the pretended court, unless they could prove by law, custom, or precedent that they had a right to call him to such an account. With a just and becoming disdain he sat before them covered, and refused to shew the least external mark of respect to those whose conduct his great heart despised, though he was too good a Christian to hate their persons.—Twice brought before them, thus did he demean himself.—Then the commissioners proceeded to publish a charge against him for having formed a design of introducing arbitrary power and tyrannical government, and for having waged a war with the parliament, and being the author of all the bloodshed, decay of commerce, and other evils which had succeeded. This had previously been read in his presence, and he had smiled at the impotent malice of the charge;—it was now made public to prejudice the people, and prepare them for the fatal catastrophe.

Charles was then once more conducted into the presence of his judges.—He still appeared as the two former times before but having been always interrupted when he began to speak, he now de-  
sired

fired h  
commo  
matters  
this de  
red a w  
vocates  
reign t  
condesc  
the pre  
as he  
of subj  
sentenc  
by the  
tation  
the fol  
stigated  
It is  
repeat  
suffice  
resigna  
last sta  
fired v  
Whitel  
bishop  
which  
himself  
Dur  
sentenc  
deavou  
the wa  
death,  
house  
to a  
was co  
in vize  
In this  
him ;

fired he might be heard before the lords and commons in the painted chamber, as he had some matters of importance to communicate.—On this declaration the judges withdrew, and conferred a while; but the majority of these pretended-advocates for freedom would not allow their sovereign this liberty, whereupon as he would not condescend to make any defence before them, the president, Bradshaw, having harrangued as long as he thought fit, on the justice and propriety of subjects impeaching and trying their sovereign, sentence was read, in which he was condemned by the name of Charles Stuart, to suffer decapitation for treason. As he returned from the hall, the soldiers in general, and the rabble were instigated to cry aloud for justice and execution. It is needless here, and would be shocking to repeat the insults this injured majesty received; suffice it to say, he bore all with patience and resignation: calm and composed, he beheld his last stage of life approaching;—all that he desired was to see his children at his return to Whitehall, and to be attended by doctor Juxon, bishop of London, in his private devotions, both which requests being granted, he quietly resigned himself to his fate.

During an interval of three days, between the sentence and its execution, Fairfax and others endeavoured to prevent it, but in vain. At length the warrant was granted for this hapless prince's death, when he passed through the banquetting house belonging to his own palace of Whitehall, to a scaffold that was erected adjoining, which was covered with black, when two executioners in vizors stood ready to do the work of death. In this last scene, Charles's fortitude did not fail him; he was not discomposed at all this awful



parade.—He declared himself innocent of shedding the blood of his people, and of other crimes laid to his charge by the parliament ;——but as at that dreadful hour, men are accustomed to recollect all their faults and failings, so this pious prince could not help saying, “ Innocent as he was of other things, he looked upon the execution of this sentence, as a judgement of Heaven upon him for having permitted the death of the earl of Strafford.”——He then declared he forgave all his enemies, and died in the true protestant faith, beseeching Heaven to bring his people to a due sense of their duty, and to incline their hearts to acknowledge his son his successor.——After this receiving a short exhortation from doctor Juxon, with great humility and respect, taking off his cloak, he delivered his George to the bishop, and laying his head down upon the block, gave the fatal signal, when one of the executioners at a blow, severed his head from his body, and the other holding it up to the public view, exclaimed, “ This is the head of a traitor.” The body being put into a coffin, was conveyed to Whitehall, and embalmed, and afterwards exposed several days at the palace of St. James’s.—At last, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, the earl of Southampton, and the earl of Lindsay obtained permission to bury it in a private manner, thus giving the last sad testimony of the duty they owed their unhappy sovereign, by the interment of his beloved remains.

Thus fell Charles the First, who, though he certainly was not without failings, might yet have reigned long and happy, and have been esteemed a good and generous prince, in almost any other nation that acknowledged a kingly government, except in England, or in England at any other period

period  
tre.—V  
a princ  
gion an  
was so  
former  
latter v  
ations  
take pl  
a doub  
besides,  
casioned  
blind z  
garded  
bred up  
ceived  
onal, b  
sumed  
at a p  
more ex  
ple wen  
time en  
gative,  
the cro  
name of  
he was  
which a  
of his  
imperfe  
heredita  
fering  
intellect  
snares,  
and tha  
which  
he was  
him, is  
been a  
thing to

period than that in which he swayed the sceptre.—With regard to his public character, he was a prince who bore a strict regard to the religion and the constitution of his country, but he was so unhappy as to live at a time when the former was overborne by fanaticism, and the latter was on the point of undergoing such alterations as he was far from ever expecting would take place.—He was attached to episcopacy by a double tie, he had sworn to maintain it, and besides, he supported it from principle; but this occasioned him sometimes to exhibit too much of blind zeal, and an intolerant spirit in what regarded the concerns of the church.—He was bred up in high notions of prerogative, and conceived the powers he exercised to be constitutional, because the princes, his predecessors, had assumed them; but he observed not that he reigned at a period when commerce had introduced a more extensive notion of freedom, and the people were led to claim whatever they had at any time enjoyed, and *more*, and to curtail this prerogative, which he deemed a jewel inseparable from the crown.—On the whole, Charles deserved the name of a good prince, and a virtuous man, though he was guilty of certain pieces of misconduct, which at length ended in his own ruin, and that of his most loyal subjects. Indeed his greatest imperfection seems to be a kind of weakness, almost hereditary to the Stuarts, namely, That of suffering himself to be guided by persons of weaker intellects than himself, which led him into many snares, and raised the popular clamour against him, and that of running precipitately into measures which he always failed in supporting. Yet that he was not a tyrant, as some have chosen to call him, is clear from this last circumstance. Had he been a tyrant, he would have hazarded every thing to defeat the first insurrection in Scotland, which

which must have crushed rebellion in its birth both there and in England.—Had he been on in the last instance, he would have found the means of timely sacrificing his religious views to the Irish confederates, and granting them such concessions (if not by Ormond, by some other lord lieutenant) as would have armed their whole nation in his service, and at such a juncture infallibly have delivered him from all apprehensions of his English rebels.—He did neither of these things, and therefore he ran upon his own ruin, contenting himself with the comfort of a clear conscience, and dying a martyr to his principles.

After his decease the people of England in general seem to have recollected their error, and to have deplored his fall, when it was too late.—The very spectators at his execution were so much affected, that many of them fell into violent convulsions, and other maladies. The throng pressed forward to dip their handkerchiefs in his blood, as that of a saint, and the countenances of most of those who were present expressed deep marks of sorrow and remorse ;—this horror seemed to have seized upon a great part of the nation, while the vile regicides stood unaffected, surveying with the greatest calmness the villainy they had committed, and resolving to plunge still deeper in the sea of blood, they not long after executed the duke of Hamilton, and many other royalists.—But vengeance overtook some of the principal of these hypocrites in a succeeding reign, and they were condemned to an ignominious death, leaving behind them a name which will be for ever hateful to posterity.

END OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

THE

THE  
K  
published  
on pain of  
acknowledge  
as sovereign  
a confederate  
for the p  
when he  
mediately  
whilst all  
members  
tinued, to  
the states

---

T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F

I R E L A N D.

---

BOOK THE FIFTH.

**T**HOUGH immediately after the death of King Charles the First, the parliament had published a proclamation, forbidding all persons on pain of incurring the penalty of high treason, to acknowledge Charles Stuart, son of the late king, as sovereign of England, yet he was not without a considerable party in their jurisdiction; and as for the prince of Wales, who was at the Hague when he received these melancholy tidings, he immediately took upon him the title of king, whilst all those that attended him, and had been members of his father's council, being now continued, took their oaths to him. But finding that the states of Holland would soon desire his absence

A. D.  
1646.  
The Inter-  
regnum.



fence rather than come to a dispute with the new republic, thinking it best to quit their dominion without being desired so to do, he begun to consider whither he should retreat, and at length cast his eyes upon Ireland, as a country where he should be most likely to meet with a safe and honourable asylum.

Ormond having already proclaimed this prince by the style and title of Charles the Second at Youghall and at Carrick, the new monarch sent him notice of his intentions, and at the same time let him know, That the kirk had ordered him to be proclaimed king in Scotland, but that they disapproved of the peace which his excellency had concluded with the confederates.

At this time prince Rupert, who commanded the royal fleet, being obliged to retire before a superior navy under the command of the earl of Warwick, put into Crook-Haven, by a mistake of his pilot, intending for Kinsale where he arrived on the tenth of February, where he received the news of the peace, and of the king's martyrdom, whereupon the new monarch was proclaimed king, and the prince put himself, his officers, and ships all into mourning for the late catastrophe, shewing all possible respect to the memory of his late royal master.

And while prince Rupert remained at Kinsale, he made several prizes by which means he was furnished with money and provisions, and was even enabled to levy a body of men, which he sent to the relief of Scilly. The parliament on this sent Blake and Dean with orders to block up his fleet in the harbour, which was accordingly effected, and they remained in this state all the summer Owen Roe, in the mean time, sent to inform the prince, That he never intended to join the marquis of Ormond, but that if any of

the ro  
vernme  
was v  
all the  
tain I  
to Ire  
Plymo  
martia  
prince  
to sea  
rosity  
furnish  
for th  
to fit  
parlian  
should  
pestuo  
resolut  
the pr  
Lisbon

But  
greater  
thing  
land, a  
for the  
cluded  
late pe  
stration  
it nece  
notice  
ril, inc  
which  
holines  
partly  
he had  
fate of  
was ne  
of the

the royal blood would take upon him the government, he would readily come in; but as this was what his highness could not accept of, so all the effect it had was that of occasioning captain Leg to be sent to hasten the king's voyage to Ireland, who being taken, was imprisoned at Plymouth, and condemned to death by a court martial for this piece of service.—And the prince being greatly reduced, could not have put to sea again, if it had not been for the generosity of Mr. Robert Southwell, a gentleman who furnished him with provisions on his own account, for though Waterford and Cork were solicited to fit out fire-ships to assist him against the parliament's fleet, it was resolved that they should rather lie before the harbour till the tempestuous weather obliged them to remove, which resolution was followed accordingly, after which the prince sailed for Portugal, and arrived at Lisbon in safety.—

But there was one circumstance that was of greater advantage to the king's affairs than any thing which for a long time had happened in Ireland, and that was the departure of the nuncio; for the general assembly approving the truce concluded with Inchiquin, and the confederates too late perceiving many of the mischiefs his administration of affairs had brought upon them, found it necessary to order their speaker to give him notice by letter to quit the kingdom at his peril, inclosing a list of grievances, on account of which they intended to impeach him before his holiness. And this proud prelate perceiving that, partly by his malice and partly by his blunders, he had occasioned and precipitated the untimely fate of the late king, and dreading the spirit which was now roused against him amongst the majority of the people, took shipping at Galway, and returned

turned to Rome, where he was severely reprimanded by the pope for the abuse of his trust, a poor recompence for the train of evils he had brought upon the people whom he was sent to assist and support!—Had the parliament ship, which chased him so closely, taken him before he had reached Ireland, it would have been one of the happiest events that could have happened to the natives of that unhappy country, as thereby the catholics might have been united to their lawful sovereign, and in some measure atoned for their former rebellion by their service and obedience to him, and by submitting timely to order and good government, while thus his majesty's loyal protestant subjects would have been delivered from their fears and jealousies, and lived in the quiet enjoyment of their lawful patrimonies and possessions.

But it was now rather too late to effect these good purposes; for though the nuncio was departed, yet he had left a portion of his spirit behind him, Owen Roe and the marquis of Antrim still opposing the peace, and the friars every where threatening damnation to all those who accepted it.—Nay, his temper was carried so far in the sequel, that he concluded a treaty with Monk, as he did also with colonel Richard Coot, whereby the nunciotists and the parliamentarians mutually assisting each other,—the affairs of each party were greatly benefited by it,—but the parliament having reaped the advantage of these treaties quietly enough, were troubled with such qualms of conscience as caused them afterwards to disavow the conduct of those that made them, and, in particular Monk was severely rebuked by the house, who passed a vote against his proceedings, but, observing that sagacious general saw through the veil of their hypocrisy, they

they were  
resolution  
lowing.

“Rel  
prove o  
the treat  
Owen R  
which h  
memory  
and dete  
of popis  
in shedd  
“New  
what th  
his app  
of the p  
is conten  
to him,  
hereafter

The a  
about fo  
three the  
mond, a  
chiquin  
Castleha  
Taaf be  
—succes  
ting out  
encampe  
after res  
Ormond  
whom J  
vent the  
nor havin  
of forage  
tached to  
surprising  
and hav

they were contented to soften the rigour of their resolution, and at length passed it in the form following.

“Resolved—That this house doth utterly disapprove of the proceedings of colonel Monk, in the treaty and cessation made between him and Owen Roe O’Neal; and that the innocent blood which hath been shed in Ireland is so fresh in the memory of this house that this house doth abhor and detest the thoughts of closing with any party of popish rebels there who have had their hands in shedding that blood.

“Nevertheless, the house being satisfied that what the said colonel Monk did therein was, in his apprehension, necessary for the preservation of the parliament of England’s interest, the house is content that the farther consideration of it, as to him, be laid aside, and shall not at any time hereafter be called in question.”

The army of Ormond at this time consisted of about fourteen thousand five hundred foot, and three thousand seven hundred horse, under Ormond, as commander in chief, the lord of Inchiquin acted as lieutenant general, the lord of Castlehaven presiding over the foot, and the lord Taaf being master of the ordnance extraordinary;—success attended on this army at its first setting out, and having taken several fortresses, they encamped at Naas in the middle of June, then after resting a space, marched to Finglass, where Ormond received a great number of Catholics, whom Jones had turned out of Dublin, to prevent the inconveniency of famine.—The governor having also sent a party of his horse for want of forage to Tredagh, the earl of Inchiquin was detached to fall upon them, which he did accordingly, surprising one whole troop, and routing the rest, and having timely received a reinforcement, he directly



directly laid siege to the town, which was surrendered upon articles, and having intelligence of some supplies sent by Monk to Owen Roe the earl attacked the convoy, routed them, and made booty of all the arms and ammunition.

The prisoners taken in the last action informing Inchiquin that Dundalk was left in a weak condition, he next resolved to appear before that place, which he took by the assistance of the lord of Ardes, who commanded the presbyterian, British and Scots forces in Ulster, and was won over to the king's side by the lord lieutenant's offering him a commission to be chief governor of the province.

The next thing to be done by the royalists, and on which the future success of the whole war depended, was to besiege Dublin, towards which Ormond drew his forces apace, endeavouring by all manner of means to straiten their quarters, and by forming the blockade of that city to prevent supplies being thrown into it, which if he could perform, there was all the reason in the world to think that the governor could not hold out long, and the place must necessarily be forced to surrender for want of provisions. He had ordered the lord Dillon of Costello to stay on the north side of the city, while he himself with the remainder of the army, marched over the river to Rathmines, and thus began encompassing it; but on that very day, above two thousand men with supplies of money and provisions were received into Dublin, and news arriving that Cromwell designed to land in Munster, the earl of Inchiquin was dispatched with a large body of horse to prevent his design, whilst the rest of the troops remained beleaguering Dublin.—This was doubtless a piece of bad generalship in Ormond, who ought

to have  
a mat:  
have sh  
who, if  
would f  
or shel  
were un  
revolt o  
afterwar  
fwered,  
revolt a  
royalists,  
torious  
ducted,  
province  
that no  
place.

But the  
odious,  
thought  
him from  
Ormond's  
army was  
addition o  
sign upon  
It was  
Baggotrath  
in Dublin,  
ing any fo  
was sent o  
drawn up a  
aking, wh  
found to  
in which  
to another  
ed to rest  
ing to h  
Vol. II.

to have considered the recovery of the capital as a matter of the greatest consequence, and not to have shewn so much apprehension of an enemy, who, if he could make himself master of Dublin, would scarcely have had a walled town to receive or shelter them in the kingdom,—And if it were urged that the lord lieutenant feared the revolt of Munster, a circumstance which actually afterwards happened, it may with justice be answered, that nothing so much contributed to that revolt as the subsequent ill successes of the royalists, whereas, had they been generally victorious as at the first; and their armies well conducted, in all probability the people of that province would have been so much over-awed that no such event would ever have taken place.

But the very name of Cromwell was become so odious, and so terrible to the Irish, that they thought of nothing so much as of preventing him from getting footing in their country, and Ormond's sentiments coinciding with theirs, the army was weakened to no purpose, and by the addition of another error of that general, the design upon the capital totally miscarried.

It was the opinion of the general officers that Bagginistrath being fortified would contribute to straiten Dublin, and prevent the enemy's horse from getting any forage, whereupon major general Purcell was sent on this service, the army being kept drawn up all night in order to cover the undertaking, which, however, was not in the morning found to be so forward as had been expected, on which account the care of it was intrusted to another officer, and the soldiers were permitted to rest themselves, Ormond himself also retiring to his tent, not expecting a sally from the garrison,

garrison. But in the midst of their security, a party marched out of Dublin, that suddenly fell upon their quarters, and, meeting with more success than they themselves could have imagined, they were by degrees joined by the greatest part of the garrison, and the surprise was such that a sudden panic ran through all the troops that composed the royal army.—It was in vain that Ormond endeavoured to rally the horse,—they fled, and the foot seeing that they did so, were so far intimidated that a large body of them surrendered to the enemy. The lord Taaffe making his way to the north side of the river, solicited the lord Dillon of Costillo, who had two thousand five hundred men under his command on that side to fall upon the assailants with those fresh troops, a piece of advice which if it had been followed might yet have wrested the victory out of their hands; but as the misfortune had happened in the general's quarters, they dispersed of success, and indeed could scarcely recollect themselves sufficiently to march off in good order, which when at last they effected, no other service remained for them than for the one half to make all speed to Trim, and the other half to Tredagh, whilst the lord lieutenant himself went directly to Kilkenny, in order to recruit his forces and to consult what was farther to be done upon the occasion.

It is not without reason that this defeat has been accounted a most shameful one, certainly a surprise of this kind must reflect great dishonour upon a general.—Ormond, whatever were his abilities, was very negligent in his dispositions, and held the enemy too cheap, or no such defeat could have happened, a defeat which in most of its circumstances resembles that of Roderic, monarch

of Ireland by the first English settlers as mentioned in a former part of this history.—Nor indeed did Ormond himself say much in his own excuse in the account he gave the king of that unhappy affair, he only tells him that he will take all possible care to prevent the advantages the rebels may make of the victory, but owns the defeat to be full and general, which certainly he would not so readily have done, if any thing could have been said in extenuation of it.

—Indeed it was a most fatal event, not so much for the loss the royal army sustained (which amounted in killed, wounded, and prisoners to about four thousand men, together with all the baggage and ordnance) but on account of the blow it gave to the marquis of Ormond's reputation with the Irish as a general.—In this respect, the defeat at Rathmines may justly have been said to have occasioned the loss of Ireland to the parliamentarians, whose forces though commanded by their great leader Cromwell, would otherwise probably have been baffled in their undertaking.

Yet the lord lieutenant after this action seems to have taken the most prudent steps, it was possible for an officer to take in his situation; for, having garrisoned Trim and Tredagh, he stopped at Ballyshannon, which he got surrendered to him by making those who had the defence of that castle believe that Dublin was actually taken.—Jones, on his part, in order to improve his victory, made haste to Tredagh; in order to reduce that place; but it was most valiantly defended by the lord Moor, and Ormond. On coming to Trim with his forces, the enemy was obliged to raise the siege on the eighteenth of August, which (says Cox) was the very day that Owen Roe O'Neal obliged the lord of Ardes,



who had besieged Londonderry to draw off forces; so that the two sieges were raised on the same day.

And now the scene began to shift fast in Ireland, Cromwell who had first given out that he would land in Munster, and probably intended to do so, receiving intelligence of the defeat at Rathmines, went directly for Dublin. He had an army of nine thousand men, and as the English rebels were masters of the seas, he had also the advantage of having a good fleet always to attend him. Having settled all matters to his mind in the capital, issuing out from thence with five thousand men, he immediately marched to besiege Tredagh, which had in it a strong garrison, commanded by Sir Arthur Aston, who thought himself so sure of defending the town, which he asserted could not be taken by assault, that he refused Ormond, who then lay at Trim, not to hazard any thing by marching to its relief; nevertheless Cromwell, who without making regular approaches, had erected his first battery on the ninth day of September, stormed it at five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day. Twice were his men beat off, and one colonel Cassels was killed in the assault, yet returning to the attack the third time he took the town, and most barbarously put all the garrison to the sword, except only about thirty persons whom he sent to Ebbadoes, circumstances that so terrified the Irish that Dundalk and many other places near Trim submitted, and Cromwell returned triumphant to Dublin, to the great mortification both of the royalists and the confederates, the latter of which now reason to wish they had sooner concluded their differences with their king, which might have prevented their being thus exposed to the attack of this savage and inhuman enemy.

Yet,  
the cat  
while  
out wi  
driving  
upon c  
instance  
and the  
which i  
forgotte  
Notwi  
retained  
he acqu  
ted a re  
estates, a  
der to the  
espoused  
But Cr  
schemes,  
prove his  
ter fortref  
ford, whi  
succours v  
enemy, th  
James Staf  
which mac  
thoughts o  
voured to  
he walls,  
arms to  
Rofs nex  
acked.—T  
well, being  
an to play  
ot so easil  
ng before  
ge, thoug  
nglish writ

Yet, if we may believe the protestant writers, the catholics even in the midst of these distresses, while Tredagh was besieged by Cromwell, fell out with the protestants in the same town, and driving them out of their own church, insisted upon celebrating mass there, a most remarkable instance of their stupid bigotry and ill-timed zeal, and the desire they had to revive old disputes, which it was their interest (if possible) should be forgotten for ever.

Notwithstanding this defeat, the king still entertained a design of coming over to Ireland, as he acquainted Ormond by letter, and he also settled a revenue upon Preston out of the forfeited estates, and created him viscount Taragh, in order to shew his good-will to such of the Irish as espoused his cause.

But Cromwell, who was indefatigable in all his schemes, and generally knew well how to improve his victories, proceeded taking fortresses after fortresses, till at length he came before Wexford, which place, notwithstanding considerable succours were thrown into it, was taken by the enemy, the castle being surrendered by captain James Stafford, and its guns turned upon the town, which made the inhabitants lay aside all farther thoughts of defence; so that while they endeavoured to escape over the river the enemy scaled the walls, and entering, put all that were found in arms to the sword.

Ross next, and afterwards Waterford was attacked.—The former fell into the hands of Cromwell, being surrendered as soon as the cannon began to play upon the place, but the latter was not so easily reduced, for Cromwell having lain long before it and lost many men during a winter siege, thought proper this time to retire, and the English writers say, that Ormond, who came to

the relief of this city would have attacked his forces, and done good execution, if the inhabitants would have lent him their boats to have carried them over the river and fallen upon the rear of his army.

Cromwell now marched to Dungarvan, vexed heartily at the ill success of his arms before Waterford, but he was soon made ample amends for this misfortune by the shameful revolt of the towns of Cork, which were garrisoned by Englishmen, three thousand five hundred of whom, by means of the lord Broghill, colonel Courtney, and others were brought to meet Cromwell at Whitechurch, and engaged themselves in his service.

This revolt on one side, and the little respect shewn by the Catholics to Ormond, on the other hand, so effectually destroyed the mutual confidence between the English and Irish, that Cromwell easily perceived conquest would wait on him wherever he bent the course of his arms; and Corke furnished him with excellent winter quarters, which prevented his being necessitated to return to Dublin.—

The Catholic prelates and clergy meeting at Cluanmacnoise, made many exhortations to unity, declared that no tolerable conditions for their religion, liberties and estates could be expected from Cromwell, and professed great fidelity to the royal party; nevertheless a paper of grievances was presented to the lord lieutenant, who permitted the commissioners of trust to issue circular letters for deputies from all parts of the kingdom to set forth these grievances, which assembly was at first intended to meet at Kilkenny, but being alarmed there, adjourned, and at length met Ormond at Limerick, where he told them, "That unless the people were brought to have a full confidence

confide  
to him  
ticular  
there w  
opposit  
freely  
mistrus  
serving  
withou  
upon t  
should  
his aut  
be pres

They  
and aff  
cellency  
circum  
wished  
scarcely  
compla  
from t  
kingdom  
answer,  
the cor  
and in  
claratio

" T

" M  
ed, Th  
and ful  
unto u  
affected

confidence in him, and to yield a perfect obedience to him, and unless the city of Limerick, in particular, would receive a garrison and obey orders, there were no hopes of making any considerable opposition to the enemy, desiring them to deal freely in letting him know, whether they had any mistrust of him or dislike of his government, observing that, since the name of Lord Lieutenant without the power, would bring nothing but ruin upon the nation and dishonour upon him, they should therefore either procure entire obedience to his authority, or propose how the kingdom might be preserved without it."

They replied with great demonstrations of zeal and affection; however they delivered to his Excellency a paper of advice, remarking certain circumstances in the government, which they wished to be amended, though indeed there were scarcely any grievances which they could justly complain of, excepting such as were inseparable from the confused and disordered state of the kingdom, as the lord lieutenant observed in his answer, which was couched in such terms, that the commissioners seemed pretty well satisfied; and in consequence of it issued the following declaration.

"The declaration of the undernamed bishops, in the name of themselves and the rest of the bishops convoked at Limerick, as deputed by them, presented to the Lord Marquis of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant for his Majesty, and General Governor of Ireland, &c.

"May it please your Excellency to be informed, That, We are very sensible of the jealousies and suspicions conceived of us, (as was intimated unto us) that we believe arising from some disaffected and misunderstanding persons, who spare



not to give ill characters of us: as if in these deplorable times, wherein our religion, king and country are come to the vertical point of their total ruin and destruction, it should be imagined by any that we behave ourselves, like sleeping pastors in no ways contributed our best endeavours for the preservation of the people; which ought to be more dear unto us than any worldly thing that may be thought of: wherefore, as well for the just vindication of our own reputation, against such undeserved aspersions as for future testimony of our sincerity and integrity, to endeavour always the safety of the people, and to manifest to your Excellency, as the King's Majesty's Lieutenant and Chief Governor of this kingdom. That no labour or care of ours hath been, or shall be wanting to proceed effectually to any proposals you will please to make known unto us, that may conduce to those ends:—we thought it therefore fit to present this declaration of our real intentions, in the name of ourselves and the rest of our brethren, the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom, whereby we avow, testify, declare, and protest before God and the world. That since our general meeting at Cluanmacnoise, we have omitted nothing that did occur unto us, tending to the advancement of his majesty's interest and the good of the kingdom generally considered: we have there, and then ordered and decreed all to us appertaining, or which was in our power, necessarily conducing to the public conservation of his majesty, and his subjects interest: And also, do and have endeavoured to root out of men's hearts all jealousies and sinister opinions, conceived either against your Excellency or the present government; as by our acts there

re-

recite  
from  
soluti  
decla  
ment  
labou  
our b  
alacrit  
tage  
wantin  
Excell  
to any  
“ A  
fires o  
We de  
of goo  
rather  
all oth  
humbl  
discont  
labour  
faithfu  
be war  
injunct  
“ A  
judicio  
think  
oppose,  
ful and  
malign  
Charles  
more oc  
and wh  
ing of  
and the  
(as God  
suitable

recited may appear. — And after our parting from thence, in pursuance of our unanimous resolution taken in that place, we have accordingly declared to our respective flocks our happy agreement amongst ourselves, and our earnest desire to labour with them to those ends; and made use of our best persuasions, for the purchasing of their alacrity and chearful concurrence to the advantage of that service. So that if any thing were wanting of due correspondence, sought by your Excellency, we conceive it cannot be attributed to any want of care or diligence in us.

“And, for farther intimation of our hearty desires on all occasions to serve our king and country, We declare, That we are not yet deterred for want of good success in the affairs of the kingdom, but rather animated to give farther onsets, and try all other possible ways: Wherefore we most humbly intreat your Excellency, for pacifying of discontented minds, to put us in a way how to labour further in so good a cause: and we do faithfully promise that no industry or care shall be wanting in us, to receive and execute your injunction.”

“And, in conclusion, we leave to all impartial judicious persons, sad and serious consideration to think how incredible it is, that we should fail to oppose, to the uttermost of our power, the fearful and increasing potency of the rebellious and malignant murderer of our late sovereign king Charles: to which enemy also nothing seemeth more odious than the names of kings and bishops; and who aims at nothing so much as the dethroning of our now gracious king Charles the Second, and the final extirpation of our natives, in case (as God forbid) events and successes would fall suitable to his most wicked designs.—So far we thought

thought necessary to declare to your Excellency from ourselves, as the sense likewise and true meaning of the rest of our brethren other bishops of this kingdom, Dated at Loughreogh the 28th of March, Anno Domini 1650.

Jo. Archiepiscopus Tuamensis.

Wa. Episcopus Clonsfert.

Fran. Alad.

Rob. Corcagen & Cuanensis.

Fr. Hugo Episcopus Duacensis.

Yet the dissatisfactions increased so much that both the English and Irish grew weary of each other, and Ormond disbanding all Inchiquin's forces, except of Colonel Buller's regiment, which was intended to be sent to the king, Dean Boyle was employed by the two nobleman to treat with Cromwell, and demand to know upon what terms the protestants of their party might be received into protection.

After much time wasted in addresses and messages, it was however at length agreed, that the archbishop of Tuam and Sir Lucas Dillon should be sent, on the part of the commissioners of trust with letters to Limerick, containing an injunction for that city to receive a garrison, and obey the orders of the Marquis of Ormond.

On this Ormond expecting a good reception from that city, resolved to improve the first opportunity that presented itself, and accordingly drew near to it, when he received the following letter of invitation from the Mayor, which gave him still greater encouragement to proceed to fix his quarters there.

" May it please your Excellency,

" The city council have given me in command to signify and humbly offer unto your Excellency, that it was expected by them that you would, be-  
ing

ing so  
it, wh  
your  
hinder

when  
pleased  
which  
humbl

peditic  
wherec  
Aldern  
desire  
and to

Y

Lim

To  
followi

" A  
have r  
the cor  
heard v  
say, as  
unto V  
wherein  
send us  
intend  
our utter  
necessar  
and sati  
heartily

F

Ju

The  
ed letter

ing so near the city yesterday, bestow a visit upon it, which it is no way doubted, had been done by your Excellency, if your greater affairs did not hinder you from the same; and we yet do expect, when those are over, your Excellency will be pleased to stop hither to settle the garrison here, which without your presence, cannot be (as is humbly conceived) so well done, or with that expedition as our necessity requires, the particulars whereof we refer to Alderman Piers Creagh and Alderman John Bourke's relation; to whom we desire credence may be given by your Excellency, and to believe that I will never fail to be,

Your Excellency's most humble servant,  
 Limierck, June 14,      Jo. CREAGH, Mayor of  
 1650.      Limerick."

To this letter the lord lieutenant gave the following answer,

"AFTER our hearty commendations, We have received your letter of this day's date, by the conveyance of Alderman Piers Creagh, and heard what Alderman John Bourke and he had to say, as from that corporation: In answer, whereunto We imported some particulars unto them, wherein We expect satisfaction: which if you send us to the rendezvouz to-morrow where we intend to be, We shall visit that city, and employ our uttermost endeavours, in settling the garrison necessarily desired thither, both for the defence and satisfaction of that city, and so we bid you heartily farewell.

Your very loving friend,

From Clare,

ORMOND,

June 12, 1650.

The particulars mentioned in the abovementioned letter were these:

I. To



I. To be received in like manner, and with such respect, as lord lieutenants heretofore always have been.

II. To have the command of the guards, the giving of the word, and orders in the city.

III. That there be quarters provided within the city, for such guards of horse and foot as he should carry in who are to be part of the garrison, whereof a list shall be given at the rendezvous.

And in consequence of this, the Marquis proceeded towards the city; but first the alderman waited on him, to tell him all his proposals were agreed to, except in that of bringing in his guards, whereupon his Excellency replied, he brought them only for dignity; but in order to satisfy the citizens, they should not exceed one hundred foot and fifty horse; but when he still proceeded on, the same aldermen came to him to let him know that one Wolf, a seditious friar having raised a tumult in the city, it would not be safe for him to enter till it was appeased.—Chagrined and disappointed, his lordship therefore retired to Shanbuolly, from whence he sent the following letter.

“AFTER our hearty commendation: according to our promise, in our letter of the 12th of this month, from Clare. We came yesterday to the rendezvous, with intent to have gone into that city, for the purpose desired by you in your letter of the same day's date, but upon our coming to the place, we received a message from you, by Alderman Peirs Creagh, and Alderman John Bourke, importing, That you had consented to all we had formerly proposed to you, except the admittance of our guards. Hereupon we returned the said messengers with answer, that we intended not the drawing in of our guards out of any mis-  
trust

trust we had of the loyalty of the magistrates of that city to his majesty, or of their affection to us, but for the dignity of the place we hold, and to prevent any popular tumult that might be raised by desperate and interested persons against us, or the civil government of that city, whereunto we had cause to fear, some loose people might by false and frivolous suggestions, be too easily instigated: and to take away all possibility of suspicions from the most jealous, that we could have any other end to the prejudice of that city, the guards we proposed were but one hundred foot and fifty horse, and those to consist intirely of those of your own religion, and such as, by having been constantly of your confederacy, are interested in all the benefits of the articles of peace. To this we received no positive reply, but in an uncertain manner were told by the said alderman, of some uproar raised by a friar, in opposition to the desires and intentions of the mayor and principal citizens, touching our coming thither. Whereupon we thought not fit to subject his Majesty's authority placed in us, to a possibility of being affronted by a wild rabble of mean people, but rather to expect the issue of more settled councils; Wherein we hope will be taken into consideration, not only by what power you were first made a corporation, and by whose protection you have since flourished, but also what solid foundation of safety (other than by receiving the defence we offer) is or can be discovered to you, by the present disturbers of your quiet: To conclude, We expect your present answer, that in case we be not encouraged to proceed in the ways we have laid down in serving the king and preserving that city from the tyranny of the rebels, we may apply ourself and forces we have gathered to that

that purpose, to some other service and so we  
bid you heartily farewell,

From Shanbuolly,

Your loving friend,

June 14, 1650.

ORMOND.

*To our very loving friend  
the mayor of the city of  
Limerick.*

Such was the conduct of the infatuated Irish; for which any personal dislike they entertained to the marquis of Ormond must be considered but as a poor and trifling excuse.—It was plain that their divisions had already brought them to the verge of destruction, from whence it was plain that union alone would be likely to save them. They were assured that Ormond would and must always allow of many things favourable to the interest of their religion; they were no less certain that Cromwell never would do so, and there remained scarcely a probability of defending themselves against the power of the latter while they were thus perpetually involving themselves in disputes with the former, yet were they resolved to proceed on their own wrong-headed plan, from which it was out of the power of argument, or even a dear-bought experience to dissuade them.

In the mean time, the Cromwellians went on in such a manner as shewed they knew how to improve their successes, and benefit by the errors of their adversaries; the most distant towns already imagined they saw them at their very gates, and the Irish seemed every where to be possessed with that consciousness of inferiority which generally fore-runs the ruin of a people. Nevertheless it was not even now too late, if the confederates had adhered to the dictates of loyalty and prudence, by joining hand and heart with the royalists to have given a check to the arms of the rebels, and to have made a noble stand  
for

for the defence of their country. For their opposers were not entirely free from dissensions; the Cromwellians indeed agreed well enough in their design of reducing and spoiling the country; but the Scots and the presbyterians in Ulster in general declared against the parliament of England, and on this occasion the lord of Ardes, Sir George Monroe, and others, joined the royalists, and even the remainder that did not take this step, were so fierce against the party of Cromwell, that if a general diversion had been made in their favour, though without joining them, their subsequent defeat might have been prevented, and the affairs of his majesty, and the Irish nation been much benefited by such a kind of policy.

But while these things were passing, Cromwell, who had marched out of his quarters in the month of February, took several fortified places, and, coming before Calan, was joined by colonel Zanchy, who had been employed in the same manner, whereupon they took that place, and marched to Gowran, where Hewit, who had taken Ballyshannon, Kildare, and Leighlin, came to them, and thus united, they so successfully assailed the place that it was surrendered after a most valiant resistance, by Colonel Hammond, whom these bloody rebels put to death, together with most of his officers. Kilkenny being next attacked, was surrendered also, the earl of Castlehaven and his forces having quitted that town, on account of the plague that raged there; but the place was surrendered by Sir Walter Butler and major Walsb upon very honourable conditions, and Cromwell moved on to Clonmel, where he stood a chance of being baffled, and certainly would have been so (the garrison being well provided, and an army gathered under the catholic bishop of Ross to raise the siege) had not the old jealousies



lousies between the protestants and papists been again revived. For the lord lieutenant having received a strange kind of information concerning this bishop's intent to raise twenty thousand men and shake off the king's authority, gave the Irish protestants leave to treat with Cromwell, to whom the lord Broghill went over, and having obtained two thousand horse and dragoons, and sixteen hundred foot, he marched to Carrigadroghid which he found defended by the bishop's soldiers there he left his foot, and proceeded with the horse to Macroom.—The Irish in the castle perceiving he drew towards them, set fire to it and hastened to join their army in the park which however was routed, and the bishop himself taken prisoner.—The victors promised, him his life, on condition of his causing Carrigadroghid to be surrendered; but, with a spirit becoming an old Roman, when he came thither he heroically exhorted the garrison to hold out to the last extremity. This action, which so much resembled that of Regulus, was punished like his with the death of the general in his retreat, though indeed not quite so barbarously executed; for whereas the Roman was put to death by torture the Cromwellians were so moderate as to content themselves with hanging this noble-minded Irishman for an action that deserved for ever to be remembered with honour.

But still Clonmel was not surrendered (though the rebels were by this imprudent desertion of the royalists, and the success of the lord Broghill delivered from the fears of an army which otherwise would probably have put an end to all the successes in Ireland) and Cromwell himself after having lost two thousand men out of three thousand, began to despair of success, when the ammunition of the besieged failing them, the go-

verno

H I  
verno  
towns  
the p  
acquai  
sersion  
turned  
son-in-  
vigour  
The  
themsel  
the cat  
lieutena  
a man  
his relig  
Irish ra  
were no  
aid of  
misconst  
at first  
own flet  
derstandi  
the Irish  
wars."  
forgotten  
postpone  
and serv  
But or  
Coor, bei  
nables, t  
rendesvou  
her havin  
horse and  
nables wa  
deavour th  
into the  
him, and  
district so  
Vol. II.

governor withdrew the soldiers by night, and the townsmen treating with Cromwell, delivered up the place upon good conditions, he not being acquainted with the circumstances of the desertion of the garrison; and soon after he returned to England, leaving the command to his son-in-law, Ireton, who prosecuted the war with vigour and success.

The Ulster army having reserved a right to themselves of electing their own general, chose the catholic bishop of Clogher, to whom the lord lieutenant sent a commission. This ecclesiastic was a man of great parts but so furious a zealot for his religion, and so particularly biggotted to the old Irish race, that he purged his army of all that were not of that extraction; yet he solicited the aid of the Scots, observing to them, "That as misconception and mistake had made the Scots at first arise against his majesty, who was their own flesh and blood, so it was likewise misunderstanding that occasioned the falling-out between the Irish and the Scots in the beginning of those wars." And therefore he moved, that all should be forgotten, and all distinctions of nation or religion postponed and sacrificed to his majesty's interest and service.

But on the fourteenth day of April, Sir Charles Coote, being in the Lagan, sending to colonel Venables, then in Claneboy, to meet him at the rendezvous near Charlemont. The bishop of Clogher having surprised Toom, and passed over some horse and foot into the county of Antrim, Venables was countermanded, and ordered to endeavour the recovery of Toom, while Coote marched into the barony of Loghinsolin to countenance him, and to keep some Irish regiments in that district so fully employed, that they might not

disturb Venables. — Accordingly Toom was retaken; — and Sir Charles Coot returned to Dungeven, but for want of provisions was forced to march to Omagh, and the Irish came to Charlemont: — being thus posted between Coot and Venables; and as it was not practicable to get the bishop from his ground, the former instead of making the expected junction in the manner he designed, was obliged to pass the river of Loughfoil, and thereby to leave the country exposed to be ravaged by the Irish, who took Dungeven by storm, and had Bally castle surrendered to them. Afterwards the bishop passed Clody-Ford fell upon Coot's forces and attacked them with great valour; but the latter had by this time gotten a pass which secured a communication between his troops, and those of Venables, if that commander could but come timely to his assistance. This pass the Irish strove to gain, but in vain; whereupon the bishop being a person of great judgement easily perceived that he should be obliged to encounter a double force if he did not either re-pass the river, or fight before Venables should come up; he chose the latter expedient; however Sir Charles Coot not being so strong as he, had no reason to fight, but managed to avoid coming to an engagement till the other should arrive, who marching from Colerain to Derry, while detachments from the two armies were skirmishing with each other, Coot therefore perceiving him at hand, no longer declined facing the Irish, but being re-inforced with a thousand foot of Venables's, which were ferried over from Derry, he offered the bishop battle, which he did not decline, and the consequence was that the English obtained a complete victory, after an obstinate engagement, the Irish army being routed.

trouted and ruined, and the bishop himself taken prisoner, who was hanged the next day, notwithstanding about a year before he was confederate with Sir Charles Coot in raising the siege of Derry, and made merry with him at his own table.

At this time the duke of Lorrain sent his agent, colonel Oliver Synot into Ireland, who offered great things on behalf of his master, which however by some means or other came to nothing, and in the mean time the enemy was every where getting ground, a circumstance which the confederates alledged in excuse for treating with foreign princes, which the popish clergy assembled at Jamestown, gave the bishop of Fernes and Hugh Rochford authority to do.—And to his excellency the marquis of Ormond they sent the following complaining letter :

“ May it please your Excellency,

“ THIS nation (become of late the fable and reproach of Christianity) is brought to a sad condition! Notwithstanding, the frequent and laborious meetings and consultations of the prelates, we find jealousies and fears deep in the hearts of men: thorns hard to take out! We see most men contributing to the enemy, and rendering their persons and substance useful to his malice, and destructive to religion and the king's interest. This kind of men (if not timely prevented) will betray irremediably themselves and us.— We find no stock or substance ordered for maintaining the soldiers, nor is there an army any way considerable in the kingdom to recover what is lost, or defend what we hold: so as humanly speaking, if (God will not be pleased for his mercy's sake, to take off from us the heavy judgements of his anger) we are in the fair way of losing sacred religion, the king's authority,



and Ireland. The four archbishops to acquit their own consciences in the eyes of God, have resolved to meet at Jamestown, about the sixth day of the next month, and to bring about as many of the suffragans as may repair there with safety. The end of this consultation is to do what in us lieth for the amendment of errors and recovery of this afflicted people. If your excellency shall think fit in your wisdom to send one or more persons to make proposals for the safety of the nation, we shall not want willingness to prepare good answers, nor will we despair of the blessing of God, and of his powerful influence to be upon our sincere intentions in that place. Even so we conclude, remaining,

Your Excellency's

June 14, 1650.

Most humble servants,

Fr. Thomas Dublin,

Jo. Archiepiscopus Tuamen

To which remonstrance the lord lieutenant very sensibly answered, attributing the chief evils the nation laboured under to the want of subordination and obedience, without which he professed, as he had often declared, he could not possibly effect any thing of benefit towards the preservation of the kingdom. In consequence of this answer, the congregation made a reply, wherein they expressed their grief and surprise at Ormond's assertion, and protested they had done all in their power to take away all jealousies and differences. But they accompanied this address with a message, wherein they requested his lordship would retire to the king, and leave his authority in the hands of some person or persons faithful to his majesty, whom they promised to obey.—In effect they desired him quietly to quit

the kingdom, because they did not like him for a governor.

The commissioners of trust, to whom the marquis communicated this letter, seemed surprised at its contents, to which they advised his lordship to render no positive answer, but rather to propose a conference with the Irish, which advice he followed, but when he came to the place of appointment they never resorted thither, however the bishops of Cork and Clonfert being sent to him, he returned an answer to their message specifying several substantial reasons why he conceived it would injure his majesty's interest for him to quit Ireland at that juncture, and again repeating his complaints of disobedience, which he solemnly called upon the prelates to do all in their power to remove.—But even before this answer arrived, the congregation excommunicated the lord lieutenant and all his adherents, on the one hand, whilst to make the breach wider, on the other, the king, then in Scotland, was most unadvisedly prevailed on by the kirk, from whose power he expected great matters, to declare against the peace concluded with the Irish, which however could not excuse the conduct of that people, because their strange behaviour to the lord lieutenant, and their excommunication of him and his adherents was prior in point of time to this renunciation, which the Scots forced upon his majesty.

But if these pertinacious puritans could prevail so much with their sovereign as to the imposing the covenant on him, scarcely any thing else that he complied with could remain a subject of wonder. The truth was, that though they acknowledged him as their king, yet they kept him among them in a situation even worse than that of a state prisoner. His ears were perpetually

tually dinned with the advice of their counsellors, and the more sickening exhortations of their preachers.—He heard his own party stigmatized with the title of malignants, as well as Cromwell's with that of sectaries. He was entertained with long-winded declarations against the tyranny of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and his own abandoned state; he was afterwards forced to publish a declaration, ascribing all the blood that was shed in the civil wars to the ill spirit of his deceased father, and the evil counsels of his mother, and in short to fix a stigma upon his whole family. All this the king did in order by means of the Scots to establish himself on the throne of England; but he and his puritanical subjects having different ends in view, pursued different and divided counsels, and their enterprizes miscarried accordingly.

But, to return to the Irish affairs;—the king being much concerned both at the dishonour and disadvantage which he feared might accrue from his renunciation of the peace, sent over the dean of Tuam with a message to the lord lieutenant, informing that nobleman of his circumstances, and how reluctantly he had been prevailed upon to take this step, at the same time intimating his majesty's desire that the marquis would endeavour to avert the evils which might attend it, by conducting himself with all possible care in an affair of such extraordinary delicacy: which instructions when his lordship received, he wrote to the commissioners of trust in the following manner:

AFTER our hearty commendations: having lately received assurance that his majesty had been induced to declare the peace concluded in this kingdom, in the year sixteen hundred and forty

forty eight, (by virtue of authority from his late majesty of ever glorions memory, as also of his majesty now reigning) to be void, and that he is absolutely freed therefrom; we have thought it necessary for the vindication of our own honour, freely to declare unto you, as well what hath passed from us to his majesty, that might give any colour for such a declaration, as what our resolution is thereupon.

“ It is very true, that, from time to time, we endeavoured to give his majesty, a true account of his affairs committed to our charge in general, and that therein we could not omit informing him of divers affronts put upon his authority, by means whereof, and the disobediences of the remaining towns (if persisted in) we were in despair of doing him any considerable service, or defending the kingdom from the rebels. But in our dispatches we were careful that his majesty should understand, that the nobility and greater part of the gentry continued faithful to his majesty, obedient to his authority, and worthy of his favour and protection.

“ Whether any of these dispatches have come to his majesty's hands, or if they did, whether before or since his making his declaration against the peace, we know not; but we find his majesty's declaration, is principally grounded upon the unlawfulness of concluding the peace with this nation; and the breaches on the part of the nation are mentioned but in general terms and by the bye, so that however the affronts put upon his authority have been many, and obstinately persisted in, to this day, and that in such places whereupon evidently depends the preservation, or the loss of the whole kingdom to the rebels: wherefore we have several times given notice unto you, and follow-



followed the ways advised by you for reclaiming the said places, without any success;—yet considering the declaration gained from his majesty, is without hearing what could be said by the nation in their own defence, and such as involves it generally without exception in the guilt of rebellion; and that even those that have with the greatest insolence invaded the royal authority, and endeavoured to withdraw the people from their allegiance, do yet pretend that they will make their complaint against us to his majesty, thereby implying, that they will submit to his judgement, we thought fit to let you know that, notwithstanding the said declaration, by some undue means obtained from his majesty, we are resolved by all means it shall please God to offer to us, and through all hazards, in behalf of this nation, to insist upon and assert the lawfulness of the conclusion of the peace, by virtue of the aforesaid authorities, and that the said peace is still valid, of force and binding to his majesty and all his subjects: and herein we are resolved by the help of God to persist until that we, and such as shall in that behalf be intrusted and authorized by the nation, shall have free and safe access to his majesty, and until upon mature and unrestrained consideration of what may on all sides be said, he shall have declared his royal pleasure upon the aforesaid affronts put upon his authority; provided always, in the mean time and immediately:

First, That all the acts, declarations, and ex-communications, issued by the bishops met at Jamestown in August last, whereby the people are forbidden to obey us as lord lieutenant, he by them revoked, and such assurance as shall be agreed on by us and you the commissioners authorized by us, in pursuance of the articles of peace

peace giv  
them sh  
that the  
bounds p  
unto the

Second  
you, tha  
and othe  
unwarrant  
authority  
and that  
before ex  
serve the  
the offen  
to, and a  
dom, as  
and obse  
same.

Thirdl  
all that d  
martial,  
common  
giltates i

Fourth  
and safe  
within the

Fifthly  
garrison  
ing to th  
cessary fo

Lastly  
means fo  
to our pla  
kingom)  
that we  
whereupo  
came to

peace given by them, that neither they nor any of them shall attempt the like for the future, and, that they shall continue themselves within the bounds prescribed by the articles of peace, whereunto they are parties.

Secondly, That it be immediately declared by you, that the said declarations, excommunications, and other proceedings of the said bishops, is an unwarranted usurpation upon his majesty's just authority, and in them a violation of the peace; and that in case they shall not give the assurance before expressed, or having given it, shall not observe the same, that you will endeavour to bring the offenders to condign punishment pursuant unto, and as is prescribed by the laws of the kingdom, as disturbers of the peace of the kingdom, and obstructers of the means of preserving the same.

Thirdly, That a like declaration be made by all that derive authority from his majesty, civil or martial, and by the respective mayors, aldermen, common council, burgessees, and all other magistrates in all the corporations of the kingdom.

Fourthly, That we be admitted to make free and safe residence in any place, we shall chuse, within the limits not possessed by the rebels.

Fifthly, That we immediately be admitted to garrison such places and in such manner, according to the articles of peace as we shall find necessary for the defence of the kingdom.

Lastly, That a present course be taken for means for our support in proportion, answerable to our place (yet with regard to the state of the kingdom) which last, we should not propose but that we are deprived of our private fortune: whereupon we have solely subsisted ever since we came to the kingdom.—To all which we expect  
your

your present answer. And so we bid you farewell, and remain, at Enis, the 13th of October 1650.

Your very loving Friend,

ORMOND.

To which letter the commissioners of trust returned this answer.

“ May it please your Excellency,

“ YOUR lordships of the twenty-third of this instant we have received, and therein, to our inexpressible grief, we find that his majesty has been induced to declare the peace concluded in this kingdom, in the year sixteen hundred and forty eight, to be void, and that he is absolved there from, taking for the principal grounds for such his declaration, the unlawfulness of the act. And, howbeit we cannot without a very feeling sense of the grief, the nation (with just cause) may entertain of the prejudice thereby brought upon them, and the blemish cast upon those hearty endeavours of theirs, to restore his majesty to his former estate and power over his subjects, look upon these unexpected fruits of their blood and substance so chearfully spent in his service; yet it greatly comforts us to understand that, notwithstanding that declaration by some undue means obtained from his majesty, your excellency is resolved by all the means that it shall please God to offer unto you, and through all hazards, in behalf of this nation, to insist upon, and assert the peace, and to persist in so doing until your excellency, and such as shall be intrusted and authorized by the nation, shall have free and safe access unto his majesty. And, as to those proviso's which are expressed as necessary conditions, whereby his majesty's authority (which notwithstanding that declaration we still do embrace and reverence) may be continued among us, besides our general profession to act, what lies in our power in the way

of his majesty's service, and to your Excellency's satisfaction, we do return the following answers.

To the first proviso and process concerning the revocation of these acts of declaration, and excommunication, issued by the bishops met at Jamestown, and the assurance demanded that nothing in that kind shall be attempted for the future; we do humbly answer, That your Excellency to whom we have often expressed our resentment of such their proceedings, may be confident we shall labour so far as in us lies, to see your excellency satisfied in this particular; and to that end we will, all or some of us, with your excellency's allowance, and as you shall think fit, repair to Galway to treat with the prelates upon this subject.

To the Second, We humbly return as answer, That albeit, we know that by those censures of the bishops met at Jamestown, his majesty's authority was invaded, and an unwarranted government set up, contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and that we are assured no subject could be warranted by that excommunication to deny obedience to his majesty's authority in your excellency; yet, being of opinion that a public declaration of this kind, in this conjuncture of affairs ought properly and would with more countenance and authority, move from an assembly than from us; and that by such a public declaration now from us, we should wholly obstruct the way to prevail with the prelates to withdraw those censures, or act what is desired by the former proviso, and likewise endanger what union there is at present in opposing the common enemy, and prejudice the hopes of a more perfect union for the future, wherein the preservation of the nation doth principally consist.—We do therefore humbly beseech your excellency, to call upon an assembly of the nation, from whom such a declaration



claration as may be effectual in this behalf, and may settle those distractions, can only proceed. Yet if, in the mean time, and before the meeting of that assembly, those censures now suspended [*as they were at that time*] shall be revived, we will endeavour to suppress their influence upon the people by such a declaration as shall become loyal subjects, and men interested to see all due obedience paid to his majesty's government over this kingdom.

To the Third, We do humbly return as answer, That we shall, at all times, and in such manner as your excellency shall think fit to prescribe, invite all or any of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects to such a declaration; which yet, until we shall understand the clergy's sense upon the first proviso, we do humbly represent as fit, for a time, to be forborne.

To the Fourth, We humbly return as answer, that whatsoever your excellency shall find to be properly within our power, and will direct to be done for procuring a free residence for your person, in any place you shall chuse, within the limits not possessed by the rebels, we shall readily obey your lordship's commands therein.

To the Fifth, We humbly return as answer, That upon debate with your excellency of the places fit to be garrisoned, and the number of men fit to be received thereunto, we shall, according to the articles of peace, use our utmost endeavours to have such garrison so agreed upon admitted.

To the last, We humbly return as answer, that as we have at all times heretofore been ready and willing your excellency's charge should be supported out of the revenue of the kingdom, so we are now very ready to concur in assigning any of the dues already accrued, or such as shall grow due

H I  
due h  
upon  
tenance  
T  
  
In co  
nant ca  
hreach,  
in the m  
the con  
way, to  
gation,  
Richard  
Brown,  
First,  
them fr  
Secon  
concerni  
the peace  
condition  
the king  
relation  
whole, t  
in a pea  
Third  
THEY co  
vation of  
Fourth  
not be  
nation,  
among th  
men, wo  
the enemy

due hereafter, or to impose a new applotment upon the subject towards your excellency's maintenance,

Thus humbly taking leave, we remain,

Your excellency's most humble servants,

Athunry,	} {	N. Plunket,
Lucas Dillon,		R. Barnewall,
Richard Belling,		R. Everard,
Jeff. Browne,		Gerrard Fennel,

In consequence of this answer the lord lieutenant called a general assembly, to meet at Loghbreagh, on the fifteenth day of November; and, in the mean time, gave his consent that some of the commissioners of trust should repair to Galway, to treat with the committee of the congregation, to whom accordingly there resorted Sir Richard Barnewall, Sir Richard Everard, Mr. Brown, and Dr. Fennel, who proposed:

First, the letter of the lord lieutenant, sent to them from Enis, as above recited.

Secondly, They shewed the king's declaration concerning the covenant and his renunciation of the peace, and made them acquainted with the ill condition of the kingdom, as in relation to the king's party engaged in the covenant, and in relation to the Independants, urging that on the whole, the only apparent safety of the nation was in a peace.

Thirdly, They demanded of the committee what THEY conceived would most conduce to the preservation of the kingdom and themselves?

Fourthly, They observed, That an union could not be had or kept for the preservation of the nation, without keeping the king's authority among them; for that many, even considerable men, would instantly make their conditions with the enemy, the king's authority being taken away, and

and that there were no hopes of having that authority left, but by revoking the excommunication and declaration, for it would not be left by the lord lieutenant, nor taken up by Clanrickard, except upon those terms.

Which propofals being laid before the committee, they gave fuch an answer as at once explained the true motives of the former conduct of their nation, and gave a clear insight into their intentions for the future. They firft feverely animadverted on the king's renunciation of the peace and his professed adherence to the covenant. They faid, " That his majesty having declared he would have no friends but fuch as were friends to that covenant, if the lord lieutenant *were not* fuch, they conceived his authority to be virtually withdrawn, and if he *were*, he could be no friend to them." They, observed, " That being caft out of his majesty's protection, as bloody rebels, they could not expect him to govern or protect them, that his authority in the lord lieutenantcy was extinct, and that *they* had no power to revive it.—That whereas it had been observed, the king's authority being taken away, many confiderable perfons would fubmit to the parliament, the way to prevent fuch an evil was, in their opinion, again to refort to their old confederacy, and that it was not at all proper, as things were circumftanced, to revoke the declaration and excommunication iffued againft the lord lieutenant and his adherents, the profeflion of the former being to maintain the proteftant religion, according to the uſage of the beſt reformed churches, which for ought they knew might be the ſame in ſum and ſubſtance with the ſolemn oath and covenant that his majesty had ſo lately approved." Then they went on to obſerve, That it would  
ſcandalife

scandalise them over all the world still to continue their obedience to a protestant viceroy and especially at Rome, where his holiness had obtained them a promise that they should have a catholic governor, though that promise was never fulfilled.—That besides all this, The ill success and ill conduct of Ormond was such, that the soldiers had no heart to fight under his banners, and that the people in general feared to be lost under his government: and that the two considerable corporations remaining were at great variance with his excellency for granting commissions to take away their goods, and for other reasons, though they would agree with and obey any other person that should be vested with the king's authority."—They urged also, "That vast sums of money had been expended without any account being rendered of them, and that if the event of this hitherto successful war should at last turn out against them, Ormond not being a catholic himself, could not be a proper person to make terms with the enemy, for the exercise of *their* religion, churches, or altars, or any thing concerning the same.—And in conclusion, they advised, That the marquis of Clanrickard, upon whom the eyes of the nation were at this time turned, should be invested with his majesty's authority, and govern them with the consent of all parties, to whom, in such case, they promised all manner of obedience, counsel, and assistance, as became loyal subjects, to the end of their lives."

There are many things contained in this paper which refuted themselves; but some which particularly related to Ormond that nobleman animadverted upon, and amongst many others he observed upon that disobedience and want of unanimity which occasioned several places falling in-

to



to the hands of the enemy, the loss of which they reproached him with.—He said, “that as to his declaration concerning religion, it ought to have been objected to, when he made it, that he did not hold himself accountable for his opinions but that whatever his sentiments were concerning the covenant, or other matters, he had always endeavoured to shew his adherence to the article of that peace which the Irish themselves had ratified, and always should have done so, had he not been interrupted and affronted by the catholic bishops and their instruments.”—He professed himself ignorant of any promise made of sending them a catholic lord lieutenant, nor did he believe that charge true, though it was notorious enough that they had petitioned for one, and, he complained much that they had not long before expressed their general dislike of him as a protestant lord lieutenant, rather than thus to load him with scandal and abuse, and send him away blasted in his reputation and honour, by this public declaration. Then he proceeded to enumerate the affronts thrown on him by, and the illegal proceedings of the two corporations which they complained he had injured, some of which we have already recited, and the others are of a similar nature;—such as the confinement of the lord viscount Kilmallock, an Irish peer, who was put under restraint at Limerick, while the lord lieutenant was on the spot, merely for having in time of war by the general’s order quartered some few horse in the liberties of the city. His lordship complained likewise of the breaking open his trunks, filled with his private papers, (which he had sent before him into the city) after admission had been refused, and of the insolence of the mayor in refusing to send Murrough O’Brien prisoner, to answer for having driven away the cattle

HIS  
cattle  
for which  
given o  
till som  
which h  
referring  
O’Neal  
and tha  
merick.  
upon hi  
person b  
captain  
search f  
where a  
against  
as shoul  
the latel  
of makin  
ledged h  
war to a  
mitted to  
his maje  
their freq  
to and ta  
at their  
cified by  
they can  
endeavour  
to them,  
given by  
bishops a  
ing in ex  
It is e  
that little  
to think  
temper of  
expect fro  
Vol. II.

cattle of the inhabitants of the county of Clare; for which disobedience his lordship owned he had given orders to seize upon the cattle of the city, till some satisfactory answer should be made, which however he never could obtain, the mayor referring him to Hugh O'Neal, as governor, and O'Neal answering, That he was but a cypher, and that the mayor did just as he pleased in Limerick.—He also took notice of an affront put upon himself and his majesty's authority in his person by the captain of the guards, called the captain of the young men of Gallway, making search for him as for a criminal in that town, where an excommunication had been published against him the king's lieutenant, and all such as should adhere to him, or stick to the terms of the lately concluded peace. As to the articles of making terms for them, the marquis acknowledged himself not a fit person in any event of war to agree with the enemy for the people committed to his government without licence from his majesty, and concluded with observing upon their frequent practice of what he called, "giving to and taking away government from the people at their pleasure;" the highest prerogative exercised by kings, and states.—"And if (says he) they can no otherwise than by assuming this power endeavour to defend the altars and souls trusted to them, the world hath long wanted the example given by them, and the apostles and primitive bishops and fathers of the church have been wanting in example and precept."—

It is easy to conceive after what had passed, that little else remained for Ormond to do than to think of quitting the country, as, from the temper of the principal persons, he had little to expect from any general assembly of the Irish nation;—

nation;—he had now twice tried them, and at length found it highly necessary to leave a people whom he could neither govern to his honour or their own advantage. He therefore prepared to embark, and having shipped his goods and servants, wrote to them from Kilcolgan. But as soon as the general assembly found that he was about to depart without having constituted a deputy in his room, they sent the lords Clanrickard and Dillon to dissuade him from taking such a step, and to assure him of their loyalty to the king, and their desire of having some person invested with his authority placed over them, to whom they might submit themselves, and from whom they might hope for protection.

And by these two lords the assembly sent the following declaration, which bore date at Loghreagh, the seventeenth day of December, in the year sixteen hundred and fifty.

WHEREAS the archbishops and bishops met at this assembly have of their own free accord for removing of jealousies that any might apprehend of their proceedings, declared and protested, That by their excommunication and declaration at Jamestown in August last, they had no other aim than the preservation of the catholic religion and people, and did not propose to make any usurpation on his majesty's authority or on the liberties of the people, confessing it belongs not to their jurisdiction, of which their declaration and protestation, and their profession to that purpose in this assembly, and of his excellency's letter, dated the sixteenth day of November last, recommending unto us as the chief end for which that assembly was called, the removing of all divisions as the best way for our preservation

preservation: We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and gentry, met in this assembly, conceiving that there is no better foundation and ground for our union than the holding to and obeying his majesty's authority, to which we owe and ought to pay all dutiful obedience, do hereby declare and protest, That our allegiance to his majesty is so inherent in us, that we cannot be withdrawn from the same; nor is there any power or authority in the lords spiritual or temporal, gentry, or people, clergy or laity of the kingdom that can alter, change or take away his majesty's authority, we holding that to be the chief power of the crown, and the support of the people's liberty; which we hereby protest, declare, and avow, and also do esteem the same essentially, inviolably, and justly due from us, and the chiefest means (under God) to uphold our union and preservation.—And we do unanimously begeth his excellency, in his great affections to the advancement of his majesty's service, and his hearty desires of the nation's preservation, to which he hath relation of highest concernments, in blood, alliance and interest, to leave that authority with us, in some person faithful to his majesty, and acceptable to the nation.—To which petition, when made known unto us, we will not only afford all due obedience, but will also offer and propose the best ways and means that he will please to direct us to, for the preservation of his majesty's rights, and the people's interests and liberties, and for begetting ready obedience in all places and persons to his majesty's authority. And we do further declare, That albeit Drogheda [Tredagh] and all other places which are upon conclusion of the peace, the ninth of January sixteen hundred and forty-eight in the king's power in this kingdom (the cities of



Londonderry and Dublin only excepted) were his excellency's time of government and conduct through many hazards in his person, and loss of his fortune, reduced to his majesty's obedience and yet God was pleased to bring us to the state and condition we are in at present.—Yet we are fully satisfied that his excellency hath faithful intentions, and hearty affections to advance his majesty's interests and service in this kingdom.

Loghreagh,  
Dec. 7, 1650.

By command of the assembly

RICHARD BLAKE

On this, the marquis of Ormond sent the word he had sent a deputation to the marquis of Clanrickard to govern the kingdom, providing their declaration might give that nobleman satisfaction that the obedience to his majesty's authority, which they professed was meant, "That authority placed in his lordship, or any other governor deriving or holding such authority from his majesty, and that they did not esteem it the power of any person, congregation, or assembly whatever to discharge or set the people from obeying his lordship, or any other such governor, during the continuation of the said authority in him." Having charged the lord Clanrickard not to accept the government on any other terms, and taken all steps necessary for the prosecution of his voyage in safety, Ormond embarked for France, in a vessel of twenty-cannon burden, in the month of December. He was accompanied by the lord of Inchiquin, colonels Vaughan, Wogan, and Warren, and about twenty other persons who chose to follow his fortune; but refused a pass which one of his friends had obtained from Ireton, as disdainful of the favour of a rebel, and willing, to the last,

app

H I

approv  
master.

If w  
cal nic  
to have  
in his t  
of the  
lived at  
cessary t  
and wor  
standing

ground

same ma

of Engl

to be suc

mond's l

in a gre

For Chan

ments of

instances

endeavour

governme

clined to

to them;

being mo

derates, w

would bot

to render

land, and

and enorm

any party

riod of his

sectaries mo

earth.—

conduct of

treaty with

other, and

ception of

approve himself a dutiful subject to his royal master.

If we observe Ormond's conduct with a critical nicety, we shall find him in some measure to have resembled his late sovereign, the First Charles in his steady adherence to the established religion of the church of England; but like him too he lived at a period when some concessions were necessary to those who adopted other modes of faith and worship. In this point of view we find him standing out, and, as it were, disputing every inch of ground with the catholics of Ireland, much in the same manner as the king did with the Puritans of England, which zeal in both caused both to be unsuccessful, and indeed, in spite of all Ormond's loyalty, occasioned him and his sovereign in a great measure to counteract each other. — For Charles being most afraid of the encroachments of the puritans, of which he had daily instances before his eyes, and finding them alike endeavouring to overthrow his religion and his government, was certainly in his heart rather inclined to grant concessions to the catholics than to them; whilst on the other hand, Ormond being most afraid of the power of the confederates, which he thought if not timely checked would both overthrow Protestantism and bid fair to render that nation independant of England, and being a witness to all their follies and enormities, was rather inclined to favour any party of protestants than them, till the period of his royal master's death had rendered the sectaries more odious to him than any people upon earth. — These observations may account for the conduct of the marquis, who was sometimes in treaty with one party, and sometimes with the other, and may also give the reader a just conception of the reasons why he was so much hated by

by the catholics, who knowing his inbred dislike of their religion, and having experienced his unwillingness, even to comply with his majesty's intimations in some points that might have proved more favourable to their interests, and his expressed desire that he might not receive any command in regard to others of a like nature, placed but little confidence in him, always asserting that they could never certainly know his majesty's pleasure as to them or their affairs whilst Ormond was charged with the government;—but to do that nobleman justice, it must be owned matters were so circumstanced during his administration in Ireland, that the wisest viceroy in his situation would have been puzzled in adopting a plan of government, and the most just must sometimes have swerved from those strict rules of conduct, which in other cases he might and ought to have adopted. We have already observed that if either larger concessions (within the bounds of reason and moderation) had at first been granted to the confederates, or otherwise some certain *data* had been fairly and sincerely laid down, from which the king and his lieutenant would not have receded, Charles's unhappy fate might have been prevented, and the affairs of Ireland might have been managed with greater honour and advantage; but it was not to be expected that all things should be well ordered in such times of confusion; and besides the zeal of Ormond led him in the beginning to disapprove measures, which even he in the end would have followed; for as whatever party he seemed to favour, he had the good of his king and country always nearest his heart, so we find him after his retreat from Ireland delivering it as his opinion, that, to effect any purposes tending that way, the aid of any catholic princes, even of the pope himself, (whom from his

Carte.

his prin  
the gr  
expedien  
able co  
last red  
jections  
treaty o  
was no  
peace v  
on their  
always v  
or omitt  
when suc  
These i  
work of  
came, w  
and bac  
nant mu  
them. S  
no confi  
and the  
him to t  
perhaps  
those fev  
upon hi  
in such  
but just  
mond (n  
which ar  
a good f  
such as  
over tho  
rity.  
Ulick,  
Albans  
to the in  
fused to  
solicited

his principles, this nobleman must have had the greatest dislike to) was both lawful and expedient for the Irish to solicit in the miserable condition to which that people were at last reduced.—And, moreover, whatever objections he might have to any articles in the treaty of peace with the catholics, yet he really was not the first to infringe them after that peace was concluded, whereas the confederates on their part were for ever disputing and changing, always wanting something to be altered, added, or omitted, and even returning to open hostilities when such unreasonable requests were denied them. These infringements were indeed generally the work of the clergy; but from whomsoever they came, while they were supported by remonstrances, and backed by powerful armies, the lord lieutenant must certainly be perplexed and alarmed by them. Such proceedings as these made him put no confidence in the public faith of the nation, and the distrusts and jealousies they raised, led him to take steps that were disagreeable to many, perhaps only for the faults of a few; but while those few were authorised to obtrude their sense upon him as that of the public, his behaviour in such circumstances might not only be excused but justified.—On the whole, the marquis of Ormond (notwithstanding some pieces of misconduct, which are obvious enough) appears to have been a good subject and a good man, a firm friend to such as did him service, and an upright governor over those who submitted to a just and legal authority.

Ulick, marquis of Clanrickard, and earl of St. Albans being constituted lord deputy, according to the instructions left him by his principal, refused to take the government upon him, when solicited by the assembly so to do, unless they



satisfied the proviso mentioned in the lord lieutenant's letter to them, and unless he had all manner of assurances of their being so well united among themselves as that there might be just grounds to expect that they might support the king's interest and their own, and not put any affronts upon his authority. On this they again petitioned him to accept the rank conferred on him, and for his farther satisfaction this assembly passed an act to the following purport :

“ALTHOUGH this Assembly has endeavoured by the declaration of the seventh day of this month (December) to give full testimony of obedience to his majesty's authority ; yet, for farther satisfaction, and for the removal of all jealousies. We do farther declare, That the lords spiritual and temporal, gentry, or people, clergy or laity of this kingdom shall not attempt, labour, endeavour, or do any act or acts, to set free or discharge the people from yielding due and perfect obedience to his majesty's authority invested in the lord marquis of Clanrickard, or any other governor or governors of this kingdom. And in case of any such labour, act or endeavour by which any mischief might ensue by seducing the people, we declare that no person or persons shall or ought to be led thereby ; but by their disobedience on any such grounds are liable and subject to the heavy censures and penalties of the laws of the land, in force, and practised in the reign of Henry the Seventh, and other catholic princes. Nevertheless, it is farther declared, That it is not meant nor intended by any thing here contained, that this nation will not insist upon the performance of the articles of peace, and by all just means provide against the violation of the same. — And inasmuch as his majesty is present

present,  
Presbyter  
themselves  
extirpation  
not herel  
or obser  
dominate  
son of, c  
tion, tha  
vernmen  
or redou  
peace.”

And  
ought  
meant o  
retrospec  
clergy.—

And  
governm  
hoped (a  
ligion) t  
faithful  
under his  
were con  
while the  
cessful ;  
more, Ba  
burgh, a  
Reynolds  
up to Sir

Genera  
that time  
Ireton ca  
ral sent to  
with cert  
and the

present, as we are informed, in the power of a Presbyterian party of the Scots, who declared themselves enemies to this nation, and vowed the extirpation of our religion, We declare, That it is not hereby intended to oblige ourselves to obey or observe any governor that shall come unduly nominated, or procured from his majesty, by reason of, or during his being in an unfree condition, that may raise disturbance of the present government, established by his majesty's authority, or redound to the violation of the articles of peace."

And afterwards they voted that by the word *ought* expressed in this declaration it was not meant or intended to look back, or to have a retrospect into any *former* proceedings of the clergy.——

And now was Clanrickard established in the government of Ireland, where he might well have hoped (as they were of his own country and religion) to have found himself at the head of a faithful and a resolute people; but alas! even under his administration, jealousies, and dissensions were continued on the part of the confederates, while the parliamentarians were every where successful; Teroaghan, Harristown, Naas, Ballymore, Ballymallock, Rabridge, Tullo, Athy, Maryburgh, and Castle Dermod were surrendered to Reynolds, and Hewson, and Carlow was given up to Sir Hardress Waller.

General Preston (lord viscount Tara) was at that time governor of Waterford, before which Ireton came with his army, whereupon the general sent to desire the lord lieutenant to furnish him with certain supplies or leave to surrender the city, and the marquis not being able to send those supplies,

A. D.  
1650.

plies, the place was surrendered by treaty on the tenth day of August; and four days afterwards Dungannon was also delivered into the hands of the rebels.

While these things were passing, the marquis of Antrim, who is said to have maintained a correspondence with Cromwell, even from his first landing in Ireland, in May this year had met commissary general Reynolds, and the bishop of Clogher, and afterwards that bishop and colonel Owen, with whom he held long conferences, and in the course of them endeavoured to prove that he (Antrim) was joined with Ormond in a commission from the late king to seize the castle of Dublin, at the beginning of the Irish rebellion;—but there are so many inconsistencies in his assertions that they do not deserve here to be either recited or refuted. However, his proceedings gained him so much credit with the parliament party, then in Ireland, and especially with Ireton, that the latter furnished him with a pass to go over into England, together with a letter from him to the council of state, importing, “That the said marquis of Antrim had done the parliament’s army singular service since the first day they came before Ross.”—An order being granted his lordship to levy money amongst his tenants for this expedition, having raised the sum of a thousand pounds, he set sail for Chester, where being arrived, he dispatched two servants to London, to give notice of his arrival, and to procure a coach to be sent to meet him at Barnet, but when he came there not finding the carriage as he had expected, he held on his way to the earl of Newport’s, where he received intelligence from his servants, “That he was likely to be but indifferently received by the parliament,  
and

and that he would therefore do best to return to his last stage, and wait there till farther notice, which he accordingly determined to do, but taking up his lodging at Highgate, the house wherein he lay was surrounded by constables the next morning, and his person secured; the parliament thanking those fellows for their diligence, and sending his lordship orders to return within two days to Ireland, with which he accordingly complied;---and thus ended this silly errand, without his even having been admitted into the presence of those rebels to whose servants he had so long been parcelling out his honour. Nay, it is generally supposed that, as he was an Irishman, that circumstance alone (notwithstanding his services to them) would have been reason enough for them to have used him worse, but that Ireton's honour being concerned, they did not chuse to offend him so much, or to make him look so mean as to use violence against any one who was furnished with his passport and recommendation.

In the mean time, the rebel forces under that commander, and the rest of the parliament's generals were still advancing. In Ulster, Sir Charles Coot and Venables, and in Munster Sir Henry Ingoldsby, carried all before them, the latter routing a body of near four thousand men that advanced to protect Limerick, which he intended to block up. Ireton's army being refreshed, half of them were sent in order to reinforce that blockade, and the city was summoned but to no purpose, the governor, Hugh O'Neal, despising the thoughts of so premature a surrender, and when Ireton himself came before that place, perceiving it could never be taken unless it were attacked on both sides of the river, he thought fit  
to



to draw off his troops into winter quarters, and for the present desist from the undertaking.

And now were the Irish, from the possession of all the walled towns, and places of any considerable defence in the kingdom, reduced only to the limits of Connaught and the county of Clare; Gallway, and Limerick, being the only places of any strength or note, that were included properly within their limits; bounded by the Shannon, which served them as a barrier against the enemy, and pent up in a corner of their land;—notwithstanding their junction with the royalists, whereby they obtained some considerable supplies of men, arms, and money, and a still greater acquisition of credit and honour; notwithstanding the great good, in regard to order and discipline, which might necessarily have been supposed to have followed such an union, yet were they reduced to this low ebb, almost without battle; to the surprise of all Christendom, and even of their enemies themselves, who seemed to stand astonished at their own victories. But these were doubtless the fruits of those dissensions between Protestants and Papists and even between the different parties of the Papists themselves, which many of that infatuated nation took so much care to foment.—It could be to nothing less than it was owing that such a pile of mischief was raised which seemed now ready to overwhelm them and to bury all that was dear to them in one dreadful ruin. Yet, even at this time we find, by the correspondence passing between the lord deputy, and other great officers, that it was not accounted that there was a deficiency of natural strength in number of men sufficient to make a vigorous attempt for keeping what yet remained, or even regaining what was lost, had not conduct, discipline, and money, the sinews of war, been wanting.—It was with

an eye  
of L  
ance,  
the lo  
St. C  
who l  
lord C  
dential  
master  
land;  
himself  
his ma  
assured  
for him  
formed  
already  
immed  
with s  
need of  
they w  
enable  
he was  
for that  
But  
trust, a  
examin  
for len  
his maj  
that the  
than th  
commit  
ceived;  
Clanrick  
son, for  
displeas  
assembly

an eye to these last considerations that the duke of Lorrain still continuing his offers of assistance, and being stimulated to enlarge them by the lord Taaf, consented to send the abbot of St. Catharine with some supplies into Ireland, who landing at Gallway was introduced to the lord Clanrickard, to whom he produced his credentials, assuring his excellency of the duke his master's disposition to assist the king of England; this envoy adding, "That he now addressed himself to his lordship, because, as he understood his majesty's power was vested in him, he was assured it would be deemed proper by the duke for him so to do."—At the same time he informed the lord lieutenant, That the duke had already disbursed six thousand pistoles for the immediate supplying his majesty's Irish subjects with such things as they stood immediately in need of, and that he was earnest to learn what more they would desire from his highness that might enable them to resist the enemy, declaring that he was ready to undertake any thing in reason for that purpose.

But when a committee of the commissioners of trust, and some of the clergy were appointed to examine what terms the duke would consent to, for lending a seasonable assistance to preserve to his majesty the kingdom of Ireland, it appeared that the ambassador's demands were much higher than the lord deputy had expected;—yet the committee were of opinion they should be received; whereupon, after some expostulation, Clanrickard, who was himself but a secondary person, forbid them to proceed, and expressed no small displeasure at what had already passed in their assembly.

Nevertheless,

Nevertheless, attending more to the necessities of the times than to the absolute propriety of expedients, they were much offended at such a conduct, and when his excellency, who had refused to receive the ambassador's parting visit, was yet prevailed on to renew the treaty with his master, they still fearing the governor would spoil it, seemed willing to push matters farther than he intended in this second attempt, which in the sequel was the source of much uneasiness.

And in this scheme the prelates were principally concerned, at whose head stood the bishop of Fernes, whose disposition in regard of this negotiation, may best be seen in his instructions to the Irish employed upon it, as conceived in the following very zealous letter :

“ I do in all sincerity offer mine own opinion what is to be done by you in this exigency; which is, to the end the agreement you are making with his highness the duke of Lorrain become profitable to the nation, and acceptable in the eyes of God, that you would immediately, with humble hearts, make a submission to his holiness in the name of the nation, and beg the apostolical benediction, That the light of wisdom, the spirit of fortitude, victories, grace, success, and those blessings of God we one time enjoyed may return again to us. The necessity of doing this is the greater, that the person from whom you come with authority is for several causes excommunicated *a jure & homine*, and is at Rome accounted a great contemner of the authority and dignity of churchmen, and persecutor of my lord nuncio, and some bishops, and other churchmen;—some of his own letters come fair to the proof hereof.—You may please to call to mind that he though much and often moved thereunto, never  
joined

joined the confederate catholics till he found an opportunity of bearing down the pope's nuncio, and had the lord of Inchiquin (who not long before dyed his hands in the blood of priests and innocent souls in the church or rock of St. Patrick in Cashell) to close with him in society of arms: The nation hath now no cause to joy in the conjunction of those two stars.—Do you think God will prosper a contract grounded upon the authority of such a man, (if some other way be not found of reconciling him to us?) —That therefore what is prophane may be holy, and what is rotten, sound, say, in the name of the nation, with the prodigal child, *Surgam, & ibo ad patrem & dicam ei, pater peccavi in celum & coram te.* And even immediately go to his holiness's inter-nuntio in this city [Brussels] to make this happy submission *quia nescit tardamulimia spiritus sancti gratia.* This being done, go on chearfully with your contract with this most catholic prince, (who, did he rightly know the business, without such submission, would never enter into a bargain to preserve, or rather restore holy religion in a kingdom with agents, bringing their authority from a withered accursed hand). And God will send his angels of strength and heighth before that people, at least, many of them lying in darkness, and shackled with the irons of excommunication.---

Such were the best services this meddling prelate could do his unhappy countrymen, at this time of general confusion and distress, ripping open the wide wounds which party had made, and endeavouring the dissolution of that little union that still remained amongst them. By such pernicious councils it was, that those very agents who were dispatched to treat with the duke in the name of the lord deputy, for the king his



his master, thought fit to leave out that authority; and negotiate *in the name of the Irish nation*, a circumstance, that if it had no other evil tendency, (which was far from being the case) must at least have served to revive old jealousies, and foment new ones between the catholics and their king and governor.—Not to treat churchmen with too much acrimony, (all of them in general especially those of the Romish communion) lest their judgments be never so clear, are highly improper to be trusted with temporal negotiations, whenever they conceive the interests of their church or persuasion are in the most distant manner concerned. And this was the case here; for the prelates directly or indirectly had driven the agents upon such measures, as, how necessary soever the Irish might deem them; the lord deputy without a positive command from another quarter, could by no means, consistently with his honour and loyalty, approve.

As to the terms themselves which were stipulated with the duke, they were in substance as follows:

An Agreement between Charles the Fourth, duke of Lorain, and Theobald lord viscount Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and Jeffrey Brown, deputed and authorised by the people and king of Ireland.

“ I. The most illustrious duke is to be vested with royal power, under the title of Protector Royal of Ireland.

“ II. Because religion is the prime end and subject of the treaty, all is to begin with an imploring application to the pope for his paternal benediction and help, that he will not be wanting in things spiritual or temporal; in consideration whereof it is protested, that constant

perpetua

perpet

shall

see.

“ I

tor's p

secute

possible

“ IV

rogation

in Irela

restored

pristine

dom to

“ V.

is to be

business

and exa

fidelity

and to

other su

“ VI.

to expel

king and

send all

of Ireland

“ VII.

exercise a

future in

commande

at his ow

less he, in

atholic per

“ VIII.

tion in the

to the secu

lands, esta

serving on

Vol. II.

perpetual obsequiousness of duty and faithfulness shall be paid to his holiness and the apostolic see.

" III. In consideration of this Royal Protector's power granted, the duke is by war to prosecute the king's enemies, and afford him all possible assistance.

" IV. The said duke is to do nothing in derogation of the king's authority or jurisdiction in Ireland, but rather to amplify it; and having restored the kingdom and religion to their due pristine estate, is to resign chearfully the kingdom to the king.

" V. Before resignation as aforesaid, the duke is to be re-imburfed all by him expended in this business, and for this re-imbursment a general and exact obedience to the duke in faith and fidelity from the kingdom and people is made, and to be observed without reservation to any other superiority whatever.

" VI. The duke is not to fail, on his part, to expel out of Ireland heretics, enemies to the king and his religion, and to recover and defend all things belonging to the faithful subjects of Ireland.

" VII. The duke is solely and absolutely to exercise all military power for the present and future in Ireland, as to the nomination of all commanders, and guiding all martial proceedings at his own pleasure and in his own person, unless he, in his absence, substitute some other catholic person.

" VIII. The duke is to introduce no innovation in the towns, &c. to him assigned, repugnant to the securities, privileges, immunities, proprieties, lands, estates, or ancient laws of the Irish, reserving only to himself authority to apply remedies

dies to any thing accruing, wherein public prejudice may be contained.

“ IX. The duke is not to interpose in administration of judicial or civil affairs, but leave them to be proceeded in, according to the fundamental laws and public form, of the king's chief governor, and the assembly instituted.

“ X. The manner of calling assemblies to be as formerly, unless complaint arise against the government, or other extraordinary emergencies hinder; and then, according to the ancient laws, the cutting off the assembly is to be at the pleasure of his highness.

“ XI. When the work is done in Ireland, by consent of a general assembly, the duke promises to afford assistance to the king against rebelling adversaries in other kingdoms.

“ XII. In case the duke cannot go in person into Ireland, it is free in his choice and pleasure to depute any other man of catholic piety, who shall be independant in the militia, and in civil matters shall be received to all manner of councils, in the same right as any other counsellor or commissioner.

“ XIII. All cities, castles, lands taken from the English shall revert to the owners, if catholics, who have constantly persevered in the catholic quarters under the duke, yet the duke's military power, shall be entire over the same, to garrison and dispose of them at his pleasure.

“ XIV. All pay to the soldiers is to pass from the duke, as well out of the public revenue as the duke's coffers; when that fails, provided that the duke's disbursements of his proper money for public uses, for the future to be repaid him as former disbursements.

“ XV. All goods of enemies and delinquents are to be converted to the public military charges,

and

July 12,

and towards rewarding great merits, by the duke, with the advice of the general assembly.

"XVI. The duke, besides 20,000 l. already distributed, promises all farther accommodations and supplements for war, together with his power and industry what is not above the reach of his faculties, and beneath the necessities of the war, towards the repayment whereof, as well principal as the annual provenue and use thereof, the whole nation of Ireland is to be liable, until the last penny be paid; and for caution, in the mean time, the duke is to be seised and possessed in his own hands of Galway, Limerick, Athenry, the castle and town of Athlone and Waterford, and the royal fort of Dungannon, (when recovered from the enemy) and these are to remain to him and his heirs until full and intire satisfaction received, and to pay just obedience, and be garrisoned and commanded at his pleasure.

"XVII. In laying of public taxes, and levying the same for the duke's satisfaction, the duke to proceed by advice of the general assembly, and all aggrieved parties, in case of inequality, to seek redress from the general assembly.

"XVIII. For liquidating and stating the duke's disbursements, a certain method shall be agreed on between the duke and the said transactors, but for the persons to be intrusted in that charge, the general assembly is to alter them at their pleasure.

"XIX. The duke shall make no peace nor cessation without the lord deputy, or general assembly.

"XX. The lord deputy and general assembly shall make no peace without the consent of the duke,

Signed,

CHARLES OF LORRAIN."

July 12, 1651.

P 2

And



"And here (says Cox) the secret and intrigue of the articles lay where one would have least suspected it, viz. in the second article; for though it seemed to be only matter of respect and compliment to the pope, yet it was the most effectual article of all, and served the duke to these two purposes; first, to oblige the bishop of Fernes, and such other giddy and restless zealots who were favourites of the court of Rome; and secondly, to delay the treaty till this previous article should be first performed; and accordingly the duke of Lorrain, the bishop of Fernes, lord Taaf, Sir James Preston, and Sir Nicholas Plunkett, signed a formal submission to the pope, in the name of the kingdom of Ireland, and therein supplicated his absolution from the censures and excommunication of the nuncio."

Without animadverting in this place on the penetration of the above historian, in regard to the matter, it requires no uncommon share of sagacity to perceive that such an article as this was highly improper to be admitted at that time in a public instrument which in any way regarded his majesty or his ministers, and as to the drawing out such an one without mentioning him or them, *that* was still more exceptionable. Besides all this, one would have thought the confederates had enough of popes, or at least of nuncio's, having already seen the ruin of a prince whom they professed to respect, recently hastened by one who bore the latter character, and their own affairs thrown into so much confusion by the same means, that they were obliged to order him to leave the kingdom. However, this was not yet enough, they were still earnest that the treaty should proceed their own way, and were much comforted when the duke of Lorrain sent them the following letters: "T

"T  
of St.  
navigati  
much d  
posal of  
unto yo  
and Mr  
more at  
conclusio  
to the g  
for the  
of the  
dom; w  
posed u  
which th  
unto me  
of all go  
hitherto  
when it  
to themse  
make it  
unto by  
preservatio  
dominions  
affairs tou  
am with a  
I beseech  
faithful si  
own partic  
which I r  
which rem  
knowledge  
known,  
Yo  
From B  
Sep. 10

" To the Marquis of Clanrickard.

" Sir,

" THE stay which the gentleman (abbot of St. Catharine) made with you, and his long navigation by the northern sea, having brought much delay as well to his return, as to the disposal of affairs here, I could not sooner dispatch unto you by this galliot, by which Mr. Plunket and Mr. Brown (your deputies) have in charge more at large, to give you to understand the conclusion of the treaty I have with them, to the greatest advantage that one could desire for the good of the catholic religion, the service of the king and re-establishment of the kingdom; which are the only ends that I have proposed unto myself; moreover, the satisfaction which the queen and duke of York, have shewn unto me, shall, as I hope, be followed by that of all good people, the fidelity of whom hath hitherto appeared without reproach, in a time when it seems they had no other resource but to themselves; I believe they will continue to make it good, being (as they are) invited thereunto by the part, which I have taken in their preservation, preferring it to that of my own dominions, and to the urgent necessities of my affairs touching which, and the assistance which I am with all care and diligence possible preparing: I beseech you to make known to the good and faithful subjects of the kingdom; and in your own particular, to take all assurance of the esteem, which I make of your person, and the desire which remains with me on all occasions to acknowledge its merit, when I may make myself known, Sir,

Your affectionate friend, to serve you,  
From Brussells,  
Sep. 10, 1651.

CHARLES LORRAIN."

And to the Town of Galway he also dispatched the following.

“ To the Mayor, Council and Corporation of Galway.

“ Honoured Sirs,

“ Of the agreement made between me and the agents of that kingdom, I leave to them to inform you more particularly, of which they have taken the charge, I do not think that they will omit, how unchangeable and constant I am: notwithstanding the ill rumours of your affairs, and the great and urgent necessity of my own, I choose to prefer your good before all private and public occasions of my own; as well as I confide that you, to the uttermost will remain constant to your intent to defend religion and country; to a high great hope of your fortitude, bear in mind that the success of the enemies, is hitherto permitted by the providence of God, to the end to reserve the chief glory of vindicating the kingdom and religion to you, and the Limerickians, as they have performed their part most nobly, I doubt not but when the occasion of promoting the cause is offered, you also will perform and shew the like examples of constancy with happy emulation. In the mean time, lest the delay of supply which proceeded of the slow return of the Abbot of St. Catharine, should put you in any doubt of my mind, while with all care and diligence to provide and send those supplies; I thought fit to hasten the sending thither of the bark, by which I might assure your hope of me and so my hope of you.

Most worthy people,

Brussels,  
Sept. 10, 1651.

Your most affectionate,  
CHARLES LORRAIN.

But however pleased the Irish might be with these flattering prospects and addresses, yet the lord deputy thought fit to return no other than the subsequent answer to them.

“ May it please your Highness,

“ I had the honour on the 12th of this instant, to receive a letter from your highness dated the 10th of September, wherein you are pleased to express your great zeal for the advancement of the catholic religion in this kingdom, your great affection to the king my master, and your good opinion of this nation, and your compassion for their sufferings, and your great readiness to afford them aid and assistance even equal with your own nearest concerns; and that your highness received so great satisfaction from the queen and duke of York; as did much strengthen those resolutions, so as they might sooner appear, but for the stay made here of Monsieur St. Catharine, and his long northern voyage upon his return; and referred what concerned the agreement to the relation of those commissioners, I had employed to your highness to treat upon that subject, of assistance and relief for this kingdom.—I with much alacrity, congratulate your highness’s pious intentions, for the preservation of the catholic religion, your great and princely care to recover his majesty’s rights and interests, from his rebellious subjects of England; and the high obligation you have put upon this nation, by your tender regard of them, and desire to redeem them from the great miseries and afflictions they have endured, and the imminent dangers they are in: And it shall be a principal part of my ambition, to be an useful instrument to serve your highness, in so faithful



mous and glorious an enterprize. And that I  
 may be the more capable to contribute somewhat  
 to so religious and just ends: First, in discharge  
 of my conscience towards God, my duty to the  
 king my master, and to disabuse your highness,  
 and give a clear and perfect information so far  
 as comes to my knowledge, I am obliged to re-  
 present unto your highness, that by the title of  
 the agreement and the articles therein contained,  
 made by those commissioners employed to your  
 highness, and but lately come into my hands,  
 they have violated the trust reposed in them,  
 by having cast off and declined the commission  
 and instructions they had from me, in the king  
 my master's behalf, and all other powers that  
 could by any other means be derived from him,  
 and pretended to make an agreement with your  
 highness, *in the name of the kingdom and people  
 of Ireland*, for which they had not, nor could  
 have any warrantable authority; and have abused  
 your highness by a counterfeit shew of a private  
 instrument, fraudulently procured and signed, (as  
 I am informed,) by some inconsiderable and fac-  
 tious persons, ill affected to his majesty's autho-  
 rity; without any knowledge or consent of the  
 generality of the nation, or persons of the greatest  
 quality or interest therein, and who under a  
 seeming zeal and pretence of service to your  
 highness, labour more to satisfy their private  
 ambition than the advantage of the religion of  
 the nation, or the prosperous success of your  
 highness's generous undertakings: and to mani-  
 fest the clearness of mine own proceedings, and  
 make such deceitful practices more apparent, I  
 send your highness herewith an authentic copy  
 of my instructions, which accompanied their com-  
 mission when I employed them to your high-  
 ness.

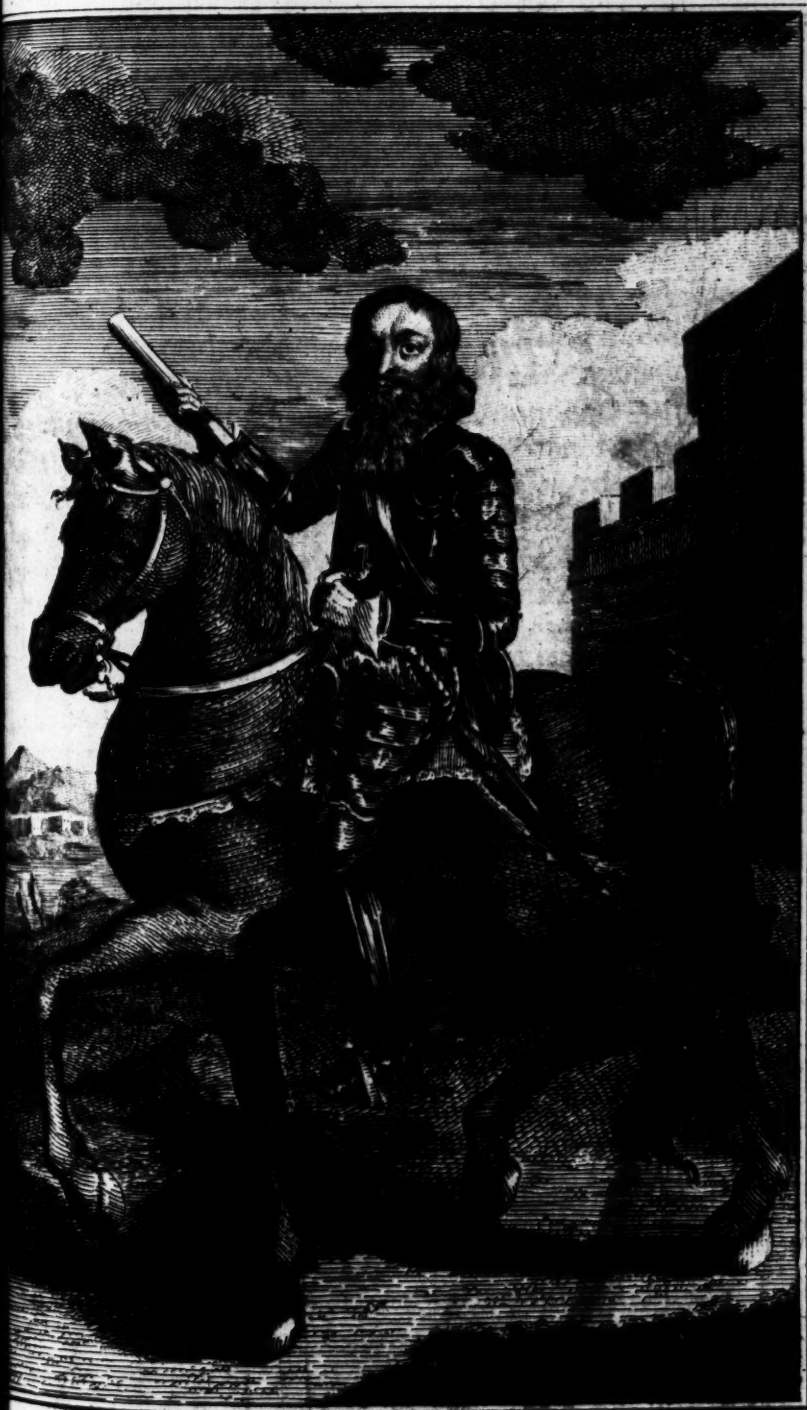
HI  
 nefs,  
 And h  
 of put  
 master  
 able p  
 ments  
 commi  
 derived  
 thority.  
 care the  
 and to  
 from  
 as like  
 to prev  
 your h  
 shews i  
 apparen  
 fallie an  
 smoothl  
 as their  
 those he  
 hath pr  
 service,  
 the relie  
 at lengt  
 if not fo  
 with a h  
 clear sc  
 your hig  
 great en  
 master's  
 tholic su  
 vation of  
 are secur  
 disburse  
 hasten th  
 the relief  
 power an

ness, as a sufficient evidence to convince them. And having thus fully manifested their breach of public trust, I am obliged in the king my master's name, to protest against their unwarrantable proceedings, and to declare all the agreements and acts whatsoever, concluded by those commissioners to be void and illegal, being not derived from, or consonant to his majesty's authority. Being in duty bound, thus far to vindicate the king my master's honour and authority, and to preserve his just and undoubted rights from such deceitful and rebellious practices, as likewise with an humble and respective care to prevent those prejudices that might befall your highness, in being deluded by counterfeit shews in doing you greater honour, where it is apparent that any undertaking laid upon such false and ill-grounded principles, as have been smoothly digested and fixed upon that nation, as their desire and request must overthrow all those heroic and prince-like acts, your highness hath proposed to yourself for God's glory and service, the restoration of oppressed majesty and the relief of this distressed kingdom, which would at length fall into intestine broils and divisions, if not forcibly driven into desperation, I shall now with a hopeful and chearful importunity, upon a clear score, free from those deceits, propose to your highness, that, for advancement of all those great ends you aim at, and in the king my master's behalf, and in the name of the loyal catholic subjects in this nation, and for the preservation of those important cautionary places, that are security for your highness's past and present disbursements, you will be pleased to quicken and hasten those aids and assistances, you intended for the relief of Ireland; and I have with my whole power and through the greatest hazards, striven

to defend them for you, and to preserve all other ports that may be at all times of advantage and safeguard to your fleets and men of war, having yet many good harbours left; and also engaged in the king my master's name, for whatsoever may prove to your satisfaction, that is any way consistent with his honour and authority, and have made my application to the queen's majesty, and my lord lieutenant (the king being in Scotland) farther to agree, confirm, and secure whatsoever may be of advantage to your highness; and if the last galliot had but brought ten thousand pounds for this instant time, it would have contributed more to the recovery of this kingdom, than far greater sums delayed, by enabling our forces to meet together for the relief of Limerick, which cannot but be in great distress after so long a siege, and which if lost (although I shall endeavour to prevent it) will cost much treasure to be regained.

And if your highness will be pleased to go on chearfully, freely, and seasonably with this great work, I make no question but God will give so great a blessing thereto, as that myself and all the loyal subjects of this kingdom may soon and justly proclaim and leave recorded to posterity that your highness was the great and glorious restorer of our religion, monarch and nation. And that your highness may not be discouraged, or diverted from this generous enterprise by the malice or invectives of any ill affected, it is a necessary duty in me to represent unto your highness, that the bishop of Ferns (who as I am informed, hath gained some interest in your favour) is a person that hath ever been violent against, and malicious to his majesty's authority and government, and a fatal instrument in contriving and fomenting all these divisions

D.  
othe  
e and  
have  
gaged  
oever  
way  
have  
and  
land)  
oever  
nd if  
usand  
con-  
dom,  
g our  
ime-  
after  
gh I  
trea-  
o go  
this  
will  
myself  
may  
ed to  
and  
and  
e dif-  
enter-  
ll af-  
esent  
ernes  
inte-  
ever  
ma-  
l in-  
these  
fions



*De Burgh, Marquis of Clanrickarde.*





*Handwritten text, likely a signature or date, is visible at the bottom of the page.*

H I S

divisions  
this king  
series and  
ness may  
withal a c  
directed  
ket, and  
it to yo  
be agre  
spirit, a  
rity I re  
such a c  
ness, in  
not be  
that hav  
kingdom  
by all p  
good o  
most fa  
and un

Alber  
Oz. 2

From  
is easy  
der ill  
the dif  
tinct  
not lik  
(to use  
fink, v  
the lea  
them  
easy  
theirs,  
into t

divisions and differences that have rent asunder this kingdom, the introduction to our present miseries and weak condition. And that your highness may clearly know his disposition, I send herewithal a copy of part of a letter written by him, \* directed to the lord Taaf, Sir Nicholas Plunket, and Jeffrey Brown, and humbly submit it to your judgement whether those expressions be agreeable to the temper of the apostolical spirit, and considering whose person and authority I represent, what ought to be the reward of such a crime. I must therefore desire your highness, in the king my master's behalf, that he may not be countenanced or intrusted in any affairs that have relation to his majesty's interest in this kingdom, where I have constantly endeavoured by all possible service to deserve your highness's good opinion, and obtaining the favour to be a most faithful acknowledger of it in the capacity and under the title of,

Your Highness's

*Atbenny,*  
Oct. 20, 1651.

Most humble and obliged servant,  
CLANRICKARD.

From the tenor and spirit of this address it is easy to see that the negotiation was begun under ill auspices; or, to speak more plainly, that the different parties concerned in it had such distinct and separate ends in view as rendered it not likely to come to any thing; but the Irish (to use their own expression) being now ready to sink, were willing to catch at any thing, that had the least appearance of preserving them; and to do them justice it must be owned that it is not easy to conceive a more deplorable case than theirs, who were at this period just about to fall into the hands of a most merciless enemy, whom they

\* See it as recited, page 196.

they had at the beginning of this war incensed almost beyond the possibility of hoping forgiveness.—They had already experienced many bitter fruits of the revenge of these fierce adversaries wherever their arms prevailed, and much more now had they to expect if the last barrier of their kingdom, should at length be given up.—Their religion, manner, customs, properties, estates, and lives were now alike in danger, and it was not wonderful that they should wish to take every means to secure all these, though it was indeed amazing that they did not hit upon more effectual ones.

But having allowed so much for the Irish, it is but fair to observe that there were certainly many impediments in the way of this treaty, which, however they might be overlooked by men who considered nothing so much as the impending danger that threatened them, were yet nevertheless such as must appear considerable to those who were charged with the guidance of the state. Certain it is, that how light soever the confederates made of the title of Protector Royal which they were willing to allow the duke of Lorrain, much more might be couched under it than was communicated either to the lord deputy or commissioners, or signified in the public articles at that time; and indeed it is worth remarking that most of the restraints apparently laid on the duke's power were but very slight, and the sense of some of the principal articles indeterminate, as was sufficiently shewn by the considerations on these articles, received by the earl of Clanrickard, from the lord lieutenant on the third day of August, sixteen hundred and fifty-two; and as to the concluding a peace *in the name of the nation*, it was certainly such a step

Clanrickard's memoirs.

ought to be taken notice of, and those concerned in it severely checked for their presumption.—But the greatest mystery of all, amongst the confederates, was that the protestant marquis of Ormond, and even the king himself should incline to speak more favourably of this false step than Clanrickard who was a catholic; a mystery which however I do not think it very difficult to clear up. I believe this was not the only thing in which that catholic lord appeared more rigid to those of his own religion than they had expected.—The cause seems to have been this;—Clanrickard considering himself as a deputy, in the first instance, being most strict in the discharge of his duty did not suppose himself at liberty to act in the same manner as a principal might do, and, in the second instance, remembering that he was a catholic, he was more peculiarly careful that no concessions of his to those of his own religion should lead his sovereign to suspect his loyalty, or any of his fellow subjects to impeach his honour, or accuse him of a blameable partiality. Thus circumstanced, it only remained for him to abide by the articles of the peace, and by the letter of his instructions, wherever there was any precedent to go by, and where any new case offered, either to wait the determination of those from whom he derived his authority, or if such determination should not arrive in time, to act with most peculiar caution in all that concerned them, and rather to err in ascribing *too much* to them than *too little*. It was upon this plan that the noble personage we are speaking of, formed the general tenor of his conduct; and as the case of the Lorrain treaty was the most extraordinary of any that had come under his cognisance, so it was natural to suppose he



he would act in it with most extraordinary caution, lest he might have been thought willing to barter his master's honour and advantage for other considerations, and betray the trust reposed in him as chief governor of the kingdom.— But it was otherwise with the other personages. The marquis of Ormond, as Clanrickard's principal might speak more freely, and besides as a protestant, could not reasonably be supposed willing to betray his royal master's interest for the sake of setting up that of the confederates.— As to the king, he had certainly an unbounded power of doing as he pleased in the business, and therefore might well be supposed even to speak of it in a manner he might not have approved of in his servants.— However, we find his majesty flatly disapproved of the treaty in its terms; only like a merciful prince, (and one willing to allow for the times) he wished the commissioners to be acquitted of any ill design in what they did, and as useful and well-meaning persons to be restored to the lord deputy's favour and counsels. This determination indeed shews at once the king's moderation and judgement, but certainly throws no blame upon the lord deputy, who proceeded like a faithful servant to the crown, and who could gain nothing himself by impeding the treaty. In short, both parties (the king and his ministers) acted as they ought, while the confederates (all of them, except two or three flaming prelates) would have done, through rashness, rather than malice, what loyalty and sound policy forbade, and were yet likely to have reaped little fruits from all their intended concessions.—As to the duke of Lorraine, whatever principle might first have stirred him up to this expedition, it seems he would have

H I  
have e  
leave r  
treaty v  
was on  
no time  
the peo  
or to p  
such te  
with opp  
acted fr  
as must  
which l  
I do no  
mish on  
only to  
romantic p  
rally ascr  
upon the  
He was  
to Charle  
if practic  
he was v  
and hono  
them;—i  
a bargain  
to lend t  
fined arti  
title of P  
highness's  
that he re  
to some s  
advantages  
haps even  
could not e  
was meant  
never have  
These to  
were certai

have embarked in it with too much caution to leave reason to celebrate his generosity.—The treaty was scarcely set on foot before the nation was on the brink of ruin, and surely that was no time for a prince whose real aim was to serve the people, to dally with them in negotiations, or to propose (or even accept the proposal of) such terms as he must well think must meet with opposition, unless the other contracting party acted from motives of such absolute necessity as must oblige them to accept of any terms; in which latter case all the obligation must vanish. I do not advance this in order to fix any blemish on the duke's character and conduct, but only to shew that he did not act upon such romantic principles of heroism as the Irish generally ascribe to him. He acted, we may suppose, upon the fair and common policy of princes.—He was willing to hazard something in restoring to Charles the possession of Ireland, and perhaps (if practicable) that of his other dominions,—but he was willing likewise to have both rewards and honours for his services, if he could get them;—in short, he was resolved to make as good a bargain as he could, for the assistance he was to lend them; and with regard to some undefined articles, such as that which related to his title of Protector Royal, it should seem by his highness's unwillingness to have them altered, that he reserved them in order to open a door to some sort of discretionary authority, and other advantages, the nature and bounds of which perhaps even he himself at that time and place could not exactly determine. But something surely was meant beyond a compliment, or else he would never have so strenuously insisted upon them.

These terms therefore Charles and his ministers were certainly justified in refusing; and the reasons

sons they assigned were cogent ones. However when all these matters were settled, and his majesty afterwards proposed entering into a new treaty with the duke (the Irish in the mean time being every where defeated by the English rebels we find that neither his highness's generosity, he roism the sufferings of the poor people, whom he had a while before expressed such a compassion for nor even his regard for the catholic religion itself could induce him to lend them any aid; for after a complimentary overture, he gave a sufficient reason for not treating, in saying, "That now his majesty had scarcely any thing left to treat for." which circumstance I rather anticipated in point of time, in order to connect the account of the Lorrain affair, as much as possible together in one point of view, that the sum of it may be more intelligible to the reader.

—But to return to the affairs of the campaign.—The English had opened it early this year, and being furnished with supplies, proved every where successful, while the Irish were reduced to guard the passes of the Shannon against a powerful enemy, that threatened perpetually to force their way into the only part of the country which was left to them, and reduce Limerick, their great bulwark, by their victorious arms.—To effect this latter, Sir Charles Coote marched to Sligo and pretended to attack that place, but instead of so doing, slipped by the Irish, and passed over the Curlew mountains, thence coming to Athlone he took that place, as he afterwards did Portumna, so that he gained two passes over the Shannon. In the mean time Killaloe pass was also forced by Ireton with the main body of the army, who then marched down to Limerick, and intrenching himself before it, at length formed the regular siege of that important place.

Th

The  
gining  
taking  
contin  
came  
landed  
regime  
his cap  
most b  
Ireton,  
ceeding  
to desp  
the city  
that the  
quarter,  
but tha  
som, and  
pressing  
forming  
were cas  
satisfactio  
Indeed  
strength  
suasion to  
Limerick  
boundary  
were eithe  
lieve it,  
fessed eith  
prove lon  
very dubi  
he took h  
on his a  
bridge; b  
timely bre  
at the fart  
possess him  
Vol. II.

The castle on the Weare was taken in the beginning of July, the warders deserting it, and betaking themselves to the river; but these being continually exposed to the shot of the English, came on shore in two parties; — those who landed on the west side, where colonel Tuthill's regiment was, being promised quarter by one of his captains; yet by Tuthill's order, they were most barbarously butchered in cold blood. Even Ireton, the savage Ireton, disapproved of this proceeding, which he plainly saw must drive the Irish to despair, and thereby render the reduction of the city still more difficult; he therefore ordered that the other party which landed on the eastern quarter, should not only have their lives given them, but that they should be dismissed without ransom, and sent into the city with a message, expressing his detestation of breach of promise, informing the citizens, that Tuthill and his captain were cashiered, and offering them what farther satisfaction they desired for the outrage.

Indeed the general had occasion to use all his strength and all his art, either by force or persuasion to render his undertaking successful; for Limerick being a strong city, and almost the last boundary of the Irish, whither all their forces were either come already or drawing down fast to relieve it, it was evident that if the natives possessed either courage or conduct, the siege would prove long and tedious, and the event at last be very dubious. Ireton was sensible of all this, and he took his measures accordingly. — He pressed on his approaches with vigour: — he took the bridge; but the besieged rendered it useless by timely breaking down two of the arches of it at the farther end; on which he endeavoured to possess himself of the island by means of eleven boats



boats and a float he had provided for that purpose; but the float proving too short, all the men except seven that landed out of the first five boats, were either drowned or slain by the enemy, and so that whole design miscarried.

At the same time it was well known that the Irish were gathering forces to endeavour to raise the siege; for which reason the general deemed it proper to send to the lord Broghill with a kind of flying army, to disturb and break their force if possible, before they should be in a condition to undertake any thing of consequence.

This lord proceeded with all manner of expedition towards that quarter where he had intelligence of the enemy's assembling, and, in a few days, came near enough to them to discern their fires, they being encamped three miles to the south, as he was then three miles to the north of Blackwater.

Early the next morning he passed the river where he met with some Irish gentlemen, who were come under protection to that place, "They told him (says Cox) that they were come out of curiosity to see the battle, because of a prophecy among them, That the last battle in Ireland should be at Knocknaclashy, and they supposed if ever it would happen, it would be now, since both armies were so near." Whereupon the lord Broghill asked them, "Who was to have the victory, by their prophecy?" They showed their heads and said, "The English."—Not to dwell upon this silly tale, it may generally be observed, that when the affairs of a nation are upon a decline, a hundred of these strange predictions are brought to light, which never before were heard of.—Mens minds became troubled and embarrassed, and encouraging a kind of

brous gloom, they brooded over the terrors of their own imaginations, and listened with avidity to those things which most they dread to hear.—— Then the spirits of the community and of private persons drooping alike, nothing is to be seen but sights of horror, nothing to be heard but tales of woe and despair. The Irish catholics now were nearly at the same ebb of despondency, as the English and Scotch protestants were in the year sixteen hundred and forty-one,—— when the spirits of those slain in the massacre were averred to be seen rising from lakes and rivers, some uttering doleful lamentations, and others prophesying the vengeance that would overtake their murderers. In both these cases the distemper of the times occasioned these vain fancies, which however, sometimes contributed to give a turn to the events which they bore relation to.

And now the lord Broghill, who was perhaps encouraged by this idle prediction, marched to Knocknaclashy, when the enemy retiring, he returned back again over it towards the place where he intended to quarter. But the Irish falling upon his rear, he faced about, and the action began in the place where the supposed prophecy had fixed it.

The Irish were superior in numbers, but the English excelled them in discipline. The budge barrels of both armies took fire in the beginning of the fight, and all circumstances seemed to combine to prevent the engagement from being decisive; however both sides were firmly <sup>Cox.</sup> resolved to make it so. They fought man to man, and horse to horse, with the most amazing intrepidity, till at last lord Broghill routed the left wing of the Irish, nevertheless a fresh party of them coming in, bade fair to regain the day, and would have done so, if the English had not

been instructed to set up a shout, and cry they run! they run! on which those in the first rank turning to look, the rest who were behind seeing their companions faces, thought they were preparing for flight, and therefore themselves fled with great precipitation, which proved the ruin of that party, and so the battalia entirely gave way. Yet once again a considerable body of them made a stand with pikes so firm that it was long before they could by any means be broken, till at last being charged violently in the angles, they were forced to give way, and, in consequence, were entirely routed with great slaughter. After the action a great number were slain and taken prisoners in the pursuit, and lord Broghill returned with the glad tidings of his victory to the main body of the English army.

Great rejoicings were made in the camp of Ireton before Limerick on account of this success; nevertheless the city still remained impregnable to his assaults, and he was so far from being in condition to reduce it (at least for that time) that he had lately lost three hundred men by one of the sallies of the besieged, which were strong and frequent. But the citizens who had ever been mutinous and troublesome, instead of sitting themselves down contented, and trusting the event of these things to the brave officers who had the charge of defending them, would not be satisfied without coming to a parley. Indeed there was something very remarkable in this sedition, which was that none of the ecclesiastics had any hand in it; for how much soever they might have hindered the proceedings of the war before, they saw themselves now driven to such an extremity that they both saw and declared, That to treat with the enemy was to give up the prelates to be slaughtered. They threatened therefore to ex-

communicate

communicate the townsmen if they offered to treat with the enemy; but these latter deeming that things were come to such a pass, that it was time for all parties to shift for themselves, thought of nothing but their own private safety and advantage. Swayed by such motives, regardless of the threats of the bishops, and their interdicts, which were actually fixed upon the church doors and in other public places, they prevailed on colonel Fennel to seize on St. John's gate, the mayor supplying him with powder, and abetting him in the resolution of giving up that post to the enemy unless the garrison would capitulate. Things being thus circumstanced, this strong city was surrendered on the twenty-ninth day of October, the bishop of Limerick and twelve other persons being excepted by name, as to life, and some of them, among whom were the bishop of Emly, and Alderman Dominick Fanning, actually executed. The season of the year being so far advanced, Limerick would almost have defended itself, and if these extraordinary men had had patience, the English would most probably at last have gone away without it. At least there would have been no occasion to have accepted such hard and shameful conditions, if there had not been a mutiny within, as well as an enemy without the town; but it was in this manner that the confederates wrought their own destruction, which they had now drawn on to a final period.

For though Gallway (which had been summoned immediately after Limerick was taken, and Sir Hardress Waller made governor of it) enjoyed some little respite by the death of Ireton, which happened on the twenty-sixth of November; yet it did not hold out long; for the parliament's commissioners at Dublin, having appointed



pointed Ludlow their lieutenant general, he, in conjunction with Sir Charles Coot, drew so near to that town, that the assembly sitting there sent to desire that the lord deputy would permit them to treat for the settlement of the nation, with the enemy, but his excellency thinking that office more properly belonged to him, wrote to the commander of the parliament's forces concerning that business; but he was given to understand, that the English would make no treaty for the nation in general, but would only admit of particular capitulations for the respective towns or persons who should require them.

—After these fruitless overtures, Gallway was surrendered to Sir Charles Coot, on the twelfth of May, before the enemy had begun to assault it, the besieged being tempted to this by having better conditions confirmed to them, than they could have expected from the parliament's commissioners, and Sir Charles being induced to make himself master of it on any reasonable terms, from a consideration of the strength of the place and the reflexion that the capture of it would in effect put an end to the Irish war, which indeed was the case, nothing of any consequence now remaining to be wrested from the Irish, and no matters of great concern standing recorded after the battle of Knocknaclashy, and the surrender of the cities of Limerick and Galway.

Roscommon and Jamestown had been delivered up to Colonel Reynolds in April; whilst in Munster, Ross in the county of Kerry, was all that remained to the confederates. This castle being situate in an island, Ludlow caused a little vessel to be made, which being conveyed over the mountains was set on float in the lake, at which the Irish garrison were so much surprised and discouraged

discouraged, that they delivered up the fort, and afterwards Inchylough was surrendered to colonel Zanchy. And though the lord deputy had taken Ballyshannon and Donnegal, yet both these were soon taken, and he himself obliged to take shelter in in the Isle of Carrick, where having no longer any thing to defend, and finding himself entirely deserted, that noble governor at length also submitted to the enemy, but upon very honourable conditions; it being granted That he should not have any oath imposed upon him, and that he should have the liberty of transporting three thousand men, into the service of any prince in amity with England." — And on these conditions he surrendered himself, and was transported in a parliament-ship to England, when soon after he paid the debt of nature, dying in peace in the capital. —

And thus ended the war, which being finished, the parliament set about settling the civil affairs of the country, the government being administered by the commissioners of parliament, Charles Fleetwood, Edmond Ludlow, Miles Corbet, John Jones, and John Weaver, Esquires, the management of the army being committed solely to the first mentioned of these commissioners.

It was now that the high courts of justice were erected at Dublin and elsewhere, before which offenders of the Irish were brought to answer for the murders committed upon the English protestants at the time of the massacre, and for which above one hundred and fifty were tried, cast, condemned and executed. The principal of them all, was Sir Phelim O'Neal (brother of Owen Roe O'Neal) who was strongly urged at his trial to discover, whether he had really received his pretended commission from the king, which he then strongly

strongly denied, saying, That he had no such commission, but that he took the seal from a patent he had found at Charlemont, and affixed it to a commission he had caused to be written in the king's name, and that Michael Harrison, then present in court had stitched the cord or label of the seal with the silk of the same colour.— He was again urged in the same manner, before his execution and tempted with the proffer, not only of his life, but also of all his estates, if he would only *say*, that he had king Charles's warrant for what he had done; but this man, who had so confidently avowed the matter before with seemingly much less temptation, and merely to answer a private end, was at his death noble enough to exculpate his innocent sovereign. Even when the executioner was just about to do his office, a person came up that bade him stop a while, and then whispered with Sir Phelim, who was heard to answer aloud, That he was much obliged to the lord lieutenant for his intended favour, but that he could not think of advancing any such thing. — Such were the mean arts by which those wretches strove to work upon the hopes and fears of men, to bring them to assert falsities, which might cast aspersions upon the memory of their prince.

But their reign was not to be long, as we shall see when we come to cast our eyes upon England, where party and faction, rage and jealousy, malice and discontent had already filled their counsels. Cromwell having dissolved the long parliament, had continued to get an act of government passed, whereby one hundred and forty four persons were vested with the sovereign power, but these being purposely chosen from among such as were not capable of it, he contrived

that the  
sign in  
officers,  
governm  
the title  
twenty-o  
himself  
the com  
to be wo  
evil to

In the  
usurper  
undertak  
ed in ge  
conscienc  
and whi  
was for  
guilt, fo  
never fe  
cloaths,  
chamber  
same ro  
of his  
Death  
existence  
from th  
die of  
of a te  
ber, in  
amidst  
the mer  
On H  
Protecto  
satisfied  
firing t  
soon aft  
him to

that the majority of them should voluntarily resign in his favour and that of his council of the officers, which latter declared that the power of the government should be vested in Cromwell, with the title of Protector, assisted by a council of twenty-one persons. And thus did he establish himself on the ruins both of the monarchy and the common-wealth, and blazed a while, a meteor to be wondered at by the nations, and portending evil to the times unborn.

In the small space allotted him to reign, the usurper succeeded surprisingly in most of his undertakings at home and abroad, and triumphed in general over all enemies but his own evil conscience, which proved the worst to him of all, and which kept him in perpetual terrors. He was for ever haunted with the horrors of his guilt, for ever in fear of assassination, though he never felt the stroke: he wore armour under his cloaths, placed centinels at the doors of his chamber, and seldom slept three nights in the same room, nor even communicated the change of his lodging to those of his own family. Death at last put an end to his fears and his existence together, and after the firmest assurances from the fanatic preachers, that he should not die of that distemper, he expired in consequence of a tertian ague, on the third day of September, in the year sixteen hundred and fifty-eight, amidst as violent a storm as had been known in the memory of man.

On his death his son Richard was nominated Protector; but the army not being thoroughly satisfied with his administration, and besides desiring to take all power into their own hands, soon after divested him of his dignity, and reduced him to the station of a private man, an insult which



which he was not of a disposition to take much to heart, as his temper was in every respect different from that of his father, neither resembling him in his capacity nor in his vices. Change after change succeeded, now the parliament, then the army, then the parliament again, presiding over the affairs of the nation, till at length, at a time when the army seemed to carry all before them, General Monk (so often mentioned in this history,) being with an army at the head of affairs in Scotland, declared for the parliament of England, (mutilated as it was) against this military faction, and absolutely by the terror of his arms restored them to their power; but when on his advancing into England they sent him a message of thanks, &c. signified that there was no occasion for his presence, he let them see that the great work which he had at heart was not yet accomplished. He still proceeded; he came to the house, he refused the act of abjuration, he insisted on the excluded members of both houses being restored, and undertook that Herculean labour, of once more metamorphosing the *rump* into a parliament. All things succeeded to his wish, the excluded members of the old parliament being restored, the *rump* abashed, withdrew; then, after many regulations they dissolved, and issued writs for the calling together a new parliament, in which the commoners were once again assembled in a respectable body, the lords re-assumed their places according to ancient usage; and the whole once more took the form of a constitutional parliament, the lawful great council of the nation. It is easy to think what glorious consequences must follow such a happy revolution: no less than the thorough reformation of church and state, which had for so many years

H I  
years  
ration  
people,  
the sco  
situated  
were n  
own h  
kings  
without  
For,  
sent ov  
implyin  
the kin  
of a lik  
that, as  
they we  
troubles  
his just  
its priv  
This  
quence,  
constitu  
be veste  
same de  
letter, t  
this vor  
majesty  
with ter  
with fiv  
ed all t  
ty for e  
addresse  
king at  
in the  
King w  
King Cl  
On the

years been laid in ruin; no less than the restoration of the rightful monarch to his oppressed people, who had most sufficiently smarted under the scourge of those civil wars that some insituated ones among them had kindled, and who were now more than blessed, if they knew their own happiness, in having their ancient line of kings restored to them without confusion, and without even the spilling of one drop of blood.

For, at this seasonable juncture, Charles had sent over a declaration to be delivered to the lords, implying his intention to govern by the laws of the kingdom, and containing many other causes of a like nature, in which he expressed his hopes, that, as they were now restore to their privileges, they would use their endeavours to appease the troubles of the kingdom, establish his majesty in his just prerogatives, restored to the parliament its privileges, and to the people their liberties.

This declaration being read, the lords, in consequence, voted. That, according to the ancient constitution of England, the government ought to be vested in a king, lords, and commons. The same declaration being delivered, with another letter, to the lower house, they concurred with this vote, and besides resolved to present his majesty with fifty thousand, the duke of York with ten thousand, and the duke of Gloucester with five thousand pounds, and immediately erased all those acts which had passed against royalty for ever from their records. Congratulatory addresses were proposed, and sent over to the king at Breda, and on the eighth day of May, in the year sixteen hundred and sixty, the King was proclaimed, by the style and title of King Charles the Second, in the city of London. On the sixteenth day of the same month, he gave

gave audience to the deputies of the parliament: He embarked for England on the twenty-third, landed at Dover on the twenty-sixth, and on the twenty-ninth of May, which was his birth-day, he reached Whitehall, and took quiet possession of the throne and palace of his ancestors.

Such a stupendous revolution must naturally be supposed to affect all the British dominions. In Ireland they had even begun to feel its first movements. At the close of the war, the government of that island was vested in Fleetwood and certain commissioners, in August, the former commanded the army, Henry Cromwell, the protector's second son, was next made chief of the military; and when Oliver died, Richard Cromwell made his brother lord lieutenant; however the parliament afterwards sent over Ludlow, Jones, Thomlinson, Corbet, and Berry, to take the government of the kingdom; in whose hands it continued till the restoration, only Ludlow was absent when that event took place.

During this space of the interregnum the Irish catholics, and indeed the natives in general, were ruled with a rod of iron. Many of their leaders, who would not submit upon terms of pardon and reconciliation to their king, now suffered by the hands of the common executioner, some (among whom is generally reckoned the lord of Mayo) for crimes which they were not guilty of; their religion was totally subverted; odious engagements were imposed, their property was given away before their faces, and most of them were transplanted from the different provinces into Connaught, there to subsist upon a small pittance of land, while their estates and possessions were parcelled out among soldiers and adventurers. Their very name was  
become

become hateful, a proverb and a reproach among their fellow-subjects. In the midst of these sufferings, groaning for a deliverance, they entertained the most sanguine hopes from the first dawn they descried of it, and one and all supposed they should enjoy every thing that their hearts could wish, when they saw a way paved for the restoration of the royal family. Forgetful of the many contests they had held with the king and his ministers, and the opposition they had maintained against them in times of distress and danger; forgetful of his majesty's circumstances and their own, they expected every thing from him as soon as they had the idea of being established in his rights, and were cruelly disappointed in consequence of such extravagant expectations.

Indeed, if we come to examine the merits of the case, we shall find there is reason to term these expectations extravagant. For though it must be owned that, at the latter end of the war, a great number of the confederates did most valiantly fight for the king's cause against the English rebels, yet at the same time it should be considered that his majesty's cause was at that juncture so interwoven with their own, that they could not avoid so doing without courting their own immediate ruin; and that even in the midst of that dilemma there were still many of them who were industrious in endeavouring to break that union, without which neither party could subsist; and it was finally owing to their listening to such evil-minded persons that they, together with the royalists, were at last totally brought under by the parliament. It will not be denied indeed but that there were many gallant spirits among the Irish catholics, who preferred their allegiance to every other tie, and who (as the



the only test to distinguish loyalty from interest) utterly refused and rejected every advantage to themselves which did an injury to their prince; some of these shed their blood in his cause; and all such deserve to be remembered with honour. But certainly, candidly and impartially speaking, it was not so with all; and at least *one great party* of the confederates, though so far reconciled to their sovereign, as not to be deemed rebels; yet rather fought their own battles than his, and often set up their own peculiar interest in opposition to his, and even to the common good and welfare of the community.

Surely, if these things had been duly weighed, the expectations of the catholics had no reason to run so very high as at this time they did, and especially as they could have but little share in bringing about those matters which in Ireland contributed to facilitate his restoration.

But allowing these Irish to have infinitely more merit, with regard to their services, than they could, with any degree of justice lay claim to, yet it would have been a piece of prudence in them to have considered the circumstances of the king, and the manner of his restoration.—If by a happy union with their sovereign from the æra of his royal father's death, (at which time they might plainly have seen the error of their former conduct) these confederate catholics had, by acting in concert with his ministers, both in the cabinet and in the field, restored him but to *one* part of his natural dominions, (a thing at that time by no means impossible to compass) they might then indeed have had a claim to his favour on their part; while Charles, on his, might have given the most substantial reasons for making many concessions to oblige them.—But the case was different;—they had conferred no such favour

H I  
favour  
restor  
claim  
great  
was  
were  
be im  
fly off  
have  
Irish  
lately  
prejud  
worn  
ters,  
sentim  
and a  
rity o  
fear o  
to th  
have  
his fa  
these  
cathol  
advan  
establi  
a righ  
privat  
them  
laid c  
likely  
fusion.  
But  
restora  
humou  
as wel  
tion of  
concer  
event,

favour; and those who had been instrumental in restoring him were of contrary principles to those claimants, and doubtless thought they had a greater right to be obliged. Charles, in effect, was restored upon conditions, some of which were expressed, but still more were understood to be implied. The least shadow of an inclination to fly off from any of these, at that juncture, must have proved of dangerous consequences. The Irish knew in what a light their country had lately been looked upon by the English.—The prejudices of mens minds were far from being worn off in that, as well as in many other matters, and therefore whatever might have been the sentiments of the king in their regard, policy, and a care for his own safety, and the prosperity of his new settled government, nay even a fear of rendering the Irish once more obnoxious to the revenge of the English, must naturally have withheld him from being very lavish of his favours to the former.—Yet it seems all these considerations had little weight with the catholics of Ireland, who being ready to take advantage of the motions that were made to re-establish the king, thought likewise that they had a right to make that event serve for their own private emolument; on which account many of them hastily seized several estates to which they laid claim; a step that so suddenly taken, was likely to have involved the nation in fresh confusion.

But to proceed with the particulars of the restoration as far as they relate to Ireland:—the humour of the generality of the people there, as well as in England, inclining to the restoration of Charles's authority, several persons of note concerted measures to bring about that happy event, among whom were the lords Montgomery and

and Broghill, Sir Charles Coot, captain Robert Fitz Gerald, Sir Theophilus Jones, Sir Oliver St George, Sir Audley Mervin, colonel Mark Trevor and colonel Warren. These gentlemen surprised Jones in the castle of Dublin, seized on Corbet and Thomlinson at a conventicle, and having awed Sir Hardress Waller into a compliance, declared for a free parliament. However Sir Hardress found means to wrest the castle again out of their hands, whereby they were put to fresh trouble nevertheless, after a five days siege, they obliged him to surrender it, together with his person, and willing at once to get rid of him, they sent him Jones, Tomlinson, and Corbet over prisoners to England.

Having called a convention, some warm disputes arose between these confederates, whether they should not article with the king concerning the estates granted to the adventurers and soldiers; but the majority being for his majesty's restoration, without any such previous engagement, that matter was of course determined in the negative; and so the business proceeded.

The first act of this convention was, to order a solemn fast and humiliation to be observed for the people's sins, among which the murder of the late king was particularly mentioned, a circumstance which was almost of itself sufficient at that time to be deemed an earnest for their future loyalty.—Then the council of officers published their declaration for a full and free parliament, and the re-admission of the secluded members in the parliament of England; and pursuant to it the convention published a declaration to the same purpose, and afterwards they accepted his majesty's declaration from Breda, and concurred in his restoration.

It was at this period that the catholics began resuming and questioning estates, which occasioned

casione  
ration  
majesty  
England  
Then

twenty  
thousanc  
half tha  
vember  
mittee t

His  
October,  
qued till  
and sixty  
and Majo

all affairs  
tioners of  
nce Eusta  
and Char

ustices, y  
fect.—T  
ors.—To

by the ac  
courts of  
efs, as v  
inder any  
they could

public ser  
e though  
ne people  
pursuan

ament.—  
e commi  
reland in  
to send ov  
are his m  
that kin



casioned the convention in May to issue a declaration for quieting possessions; and in June his majesty also issued one to the same purpose in England.

Then the convention, having given the king twenty thousand pounds, the duke of York four thousand pounds, and the duke of Gloucester half that sum, adjourned till the month of November following, having left a standing committee to govern the nation.

His majesty approving of this assembly in October, it met again in January, and so continued till its dissolution in May, sixteen hundred and sixty-one.—In the mean time Sir Charles Coote and Major William Bury had the management of all affairs in Ireland, under the title of commissioners of government. But soon after, Sir Maurice Eustace, lord chancellor, Roger, earl of Orrery, and Charles, earl of Montrath, were made lords justices, whose instructions were to the following effect.—To swear those named for privy counsellors.—To appoint sheriffs and justices of the peace by the advice of the council, and to open the courts of justice. To promote peace and quietness, as well in the army as elsewhere, and to hinder any prejudice to his majesty.—To do what they could to increase the revenue and advance the public service.—To prepare such bills as should be thought by them and the council to be for the people, and to transmit them to England, in pursuance of Poyning's law, in order to a parliament.—To reduce the king's concessions to the commissioners of the general convention of Ireland into bills to pass next parliament.—To send over names of fit commissioners to execute his majesty's declaration for the settlement of that kingdom;—and to cause the oaths of allegiance



legiance and supremacy to be taken by all his majesty's liege subjects, and to proceed according to law against all those who refused.

—Upon the eighth day of May this year, parliament was summoned, when Dr. Bramhall archbishop of Ardmagh was speaker of the house of lords, as was Sir Audley Meryin of the house of commons, which parliament presented James formerly marquis now duke of Ormond, and appointed lord lieutenant, with a present of thirty thousand pounds, in testimony of their gratitude and affection to him, and soon after an indulgence to dissenters was published.

In the midst of this general joy the catholics began to appear with clouded brows; they could not without some repining behold the protestants happy in the restoration of their national church to its original splendour, whilst, on their part, they saw all the hopes they had formed of having their mode of worship patronised, vanish like a dream. A bill of settlement likewise was talked of, by which they were not likely to be sufferers as they had at first imagined; for many of the officers and adventurers who shared the lost estates of the catholics were too powerfully established in their connexions, for the new government (were it never so well disposed) to move them. It is allowed that such considerations were cutting; but when these men reflected what a necessity their king was reduced, in regard to what related to them, and likewise how great a share they themselves had had in bringing things into such a situation, patience would have become them, and a continuance in a humble demeanour, till by their peaceful and loyal behaviour they might have merited the grace and favour of their prince, and the good

will of their fellow-subjects, whereby all burdens might have been lightened, and they themselves lived happy in a flourishing kingdom.

But impatience is one of the general characteristics of the Irish. They thought themselves much injured, and immediately they deeply felt that they were so. They complained of the king's proceedings towards them; they handed down their disapprobation of these to their children, and to this moment they are censured accordingly. Charles indeed was not famous for rewarding even his friends, and his successor severely felt the consequences of this neglect at a future period; but surely if ever the restored monarch had sufficient pleas for not granting concessions, it was in regard to the Irish for the cause above-mentioned, the most conclusive of all which amounts but to this plain reason,---because he was not in a situation to grant them.

As to the bill of settlement it was not passed into an act till the fifteenth of September, the session of parliament beginning in the April preceding, and if we may credit Cox, notwithstanding the Irish complain that they were never heard in this matter, yet all they could say was heard and debated, (and he says *even with favour to them*) they had agents to whom they allowed three pence *per acre* for that purpose, and every, he says, word in the bill was expunged to which they could have any just objection.

And having told us that the said bill was exposed to the Irish and their council for no less space than six months, before it was passed into a law, he recites an order of the king and council after the matter was determined, which in matter and form following:

R 2

At

“ AT the court of Whitehall,

On the fourteenth day of March, 1671.

Present, the King's most excellent Majesty,	Earl of Carlisle,
His Royal Highness the duke of York,	Lord Seymore,
Lord Chancellor,	Lord Hatton,
Lord Privy Seal,	Lord Holles,
Duke of Ormond,	Lord Ashley,
Marquis of Dorchester,	Mr. Trear,
Lord Chamberlain,	Mr. Comptroller,
Earl of Northumberland,	Mr. Vice Chamberlain,
Earl of Norwich,	Mr. Secretary Nicholas,
Earl of St. Albans,	Mr. Secretary Morrice,
Earl of Anglesey,	

THIS day Mr. Solicitor-general making report to his majesty in council, from the committee of this board for the affairs of Ireland, upon consideration of several papers, presented to the board by Sir Nicholas Plunket in the behalf of some of the Roman catholics of Ireland, concerned in his majesty's declaration, according to an order of the twelfth of this instant, that after the committee had debated the said papers, the commissioners from the council, and the parliament of Ireland were called in and heard, and presented to the committee several papers, viz. Instructions given by the supreme council, and others of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the common of the confederate catholics of Ireland, to be observed by the bishop of Fernes, and Nicholas Plunket in the court of Rome, bearing date the eighteenth of January, sixteen hundred and forty-seven, a draught of instructions to France and Spain, and a copy of the excommunication published at Jamestown; — and all the said papers being read, and the said commissioners being withdrawn, and the committee then calling

H I S

in the fa  
whether  
by comm  
his hand  
the inst  
writing a  
of the c  
upon it  
the bill f  
dom shou  
with all  
deration  
gard the  
several ti  
he said  
farther ac  
them for  
grossing t  
delay, acc  
And also  
the provi  
pittee to  
her order  
ending, c  
ure unto  
e do for  
majesty's  
of this or  
he said c  
transmitted  
Copia Ve  
Various  
laints ma  
orwithstan  
ox with  
the Irish i  
as too sh

in the said Sir Nicholas Plunket, and asking him whether the signatures of the instructions to Rome, by command of the general assembly, were of his hand writing; and whether the draught of the instructions to France and Spain were his writing also, he acknowledged in the presence of the committee, that they were; and that hereupon it was the opinion of the committee that the bill for the common settlement of that kingdom should not be retarded, but proceeded upon with all possible expedition. It was upon consideration of the said report ordered, That in regard the said Roman catholics have been already several times fully heard at this board; as to the said bill of settlement, no more petitions or farther addresses be required or admitted from them for obstructing the same,—but the engrossing thereof be proceeded upon without any delay, according as the same is already prepared. And also that Mr. Solicitor-general do send all the provisos already allowed of by the said committee to be likewise engrossed. And it was farther ordered, That the clerk of the council attending, do not only signify his majesty's pleasure unto the said Sir Nicholas Plunket, that he do forbear coming into, or appearing in his majesty's presence or court, but also give notice of this order to the committee employed from the said council and parliament, to be by them transmitted into Ireland."

*Copia Vera.*

EDWARD WALKER."

Various and numerous however were the complaints made against this act of settlement; and notwithstanding the passage I have quoted from Fox with whom the English writers agree, yet the Irish in general assert that the time allowed was too short, and that the judges were in a great



measure parties concerned, and finally that some thousands of loyal catholics were obliged to depart, (because the court might not be prorogued) without having been admitted to a trial, while their estates and properties were divided among the adventurers the soldiers of Cromwell, and others who had been in open rebellion against king Charles the First. —

In the year sixteen hundred and thirty-three Jepson, Blood, and others formed a plot to seize upon the castle of Dublin, but the lord lieutenant having received intelligence of their scheme prevented it, and issued a proclamation against the conspirators; then the Irish parliament was prorogued, who, when they sat for the dispatch of business in the October following, manifested their abhorrence of the plot by a public declaration. — And both papists and protestants, some few particular persons excepted, were there upon disarmed throughout the whole kingdom.

In April the lord lieutenant went over to England, leaving his son, the lord Offory, as his deputy, but returned in the beginning of September, and brought over with him, The act of explanation, which passed into a statute on the fifteenth day of December in the same year; and soon after his arrival he raised a protestant militia for the defence of the country.

The succeeding year all was pretty quiet in Ireland, as to the internal state of the country; but the great preparations making by the courts of France and Spain causing some apprehensions of foreign war, the commons voted thanks to be given to the lord lieutenant for making them acquainted with these circumstances, gave the king several subsidies, and promised with their lives and fortunes to assist his excellency against all his majesty's enemies.

In the  
teen hu  
corporal  
of seizin  
with fou  
that pla  
ten of t  
but the  
And thi  
fire whic  
to a hea  
that publi  
tributed  
us now  
ing of t  
have acc  
had, hov  
the air,  
under it  
that neit  
work th  
raised ci  
and capa  
The no  
peated a  
came to  
much ter  
where rai  
on the C  
tenant ro  
about th  
coast, th  
ever, th  
fleet und  
middle o  
sale.

The lo  
of the y

In the month of May, in the famous year sixteen hundred and sixty-six, about two hundred corporals and soldiers committed the rash action of seizing Carrickfergus; but the earl of Arran, with four companies of guards presently re-took that place, and as it was in a time of open war, ten of these mutineers were condemned to death, but the rest of them were received to mercy.—

And this year was remarkable for that dreadful fire which reduced the greatest part of London to a heap of ashes, the contrivance of which at that public time of confusion was most unjustly attributed to the papists, though if any one of us now living had accurately observed the building of the capital at that time, he might easily have accounted for the accident, which at least had, however, this good effect, that it purified the air, and buried the remains of the plague under its ruins; whilst it left a moral assurance that neither pestilence nor fire would ever again work the same dreadful effects upon the new raised city, which was built upon a better plan, and capable of an infinity of improvements.

The next year Ireland was disturbed with repeated alarms of an invasion, which however came to nothing; though the people were so much terrified thereby, that the militia was every where raised, and those of Leinster rendezvoused on the Curragh of Kildare, where the lord lieutenant reviewed them. A squadron of ships about the same time hovering on the southern coast, the inhabitants were much frightened; however, they happily proved to be an English fleet under Sir Jeremy Smith, which about the middle of July anchored in the harbour of Kinsale.

The lord lieutenant embarked in the beginning of the year sixteen hundred and sixty-eight for

England, leaving his son, lord Offory, deputy as before, who the next year surrendered the sword to John lord Roberts, of Truro, as did the latter to John lord Berkly, baron of Stratton, who was sworn lord lieutenant on the twenty-first day of May, in the year sixteen hundred and seventy, and to whom the following instructions were given :

“First, That being appointed lord lieutenant you are to receive the sword of state, and take the accustomed oath.

“Secondly, Forasmuch as all good success doth rest upon the service of God, above all things, you are to settle good order in the church, that God may be better served in the true established religion, and the people by that means be reduced from their errors in religion, wherein they have been too long most unhappily and perniciously seduced ; and never more than since the late fatal rebellion, which hath produced too plentiful a seed-time of atheism, superstition, and schism. But in your care of religion be sure to moderate the precipitation and preposterous zeal of any on what specious pretences soever, who, under the name of Christ’s kingdom, the church, and religion, disturb both church and state, and may endanger the peace thereof ; whereas, by wisdom and moderation, the established religion will not only be more firmly settled again, but by a wise and diligent hand the tares and coele, which many years war and confusion have sowed, will be most safely picked out. In order to this proceed as in the beginning of the lord Chichester’s time to the building and repairing of churches. And because good preachers are with difficulty obtained, without competent means inspect the ecclesiastical livings, with assistance of some of the church, and others of skill, and raise them

them, with pi respect all patr ruption. of Ireland three, a ned for that fit the ben liament. youth to

“This kingdom supplied.

“Four officers, charge c sons may

“Fifth the oath officers, refuse.

“Sixth tering of ters offer this part to the c time with be found

“Seventh niently f to the sub live order the office abient hi exceed th

them, as you can, and supply those in our gift with pious, apt, and able persons, men of good respect and credit, and residents; and persuade all patrons to do the like, and to eschew corruption.—Observe the directions about the church of Ireland in the year sixteen hundred and twenty-three, and see that the clergy lose nothing destined for them in the several plantations;—and that fit and diligent school-masters may have the benefit of our donations, and the act of parliament.—And encourage the people to send their youth to the college of Dublin.

“Thirdly, Send us an account of the state of the kingdom, what is wanting, and how it may be supplied.

“Fourthly, Enquire diligently how our judges, officers, and ministers, behave themselves in discharge of their respective trusts, that faulty persons may be succeeded by better.

“Fifthly, Take exact musters, and administer the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, to all officers, and soldiers,——and cashier all such as refuse.

“Sixthly, To prevent false musters, and the mustering of servants and tenants, &c. change quarters often even to remote provinces; renewing in this particular the printed instructions and rules to the commissaries in the duke of Ormond’s time with such alterations and additions, as shall be found requisite.

“Seventhly, Quarter the soldiers, most conveniently for our service, and the least burthensome to the subjects, and give strict directions that they live orderly, and according to discipline; and that the officer may not detain the soldiers pay, nor absent himself without licence, which must not exceed three months.

“Eighthly,



" Eighthly, Inspect the revenue, &c. exactly as it was on the twentieth of January, sixteen hundred and sixty-nine, and is now.

" Ninthly, Improve it by increase of the income, and abatement of the charge.

" Tenthly, If any orders under the great or privy seal, privy signet, or sign manual, or from the privy council, shall come unto you contrary to these instructions, or in your opinion unfit to be obeyed, you may suspend your obedience, until you signify your reasons for so doing, and receive our answer.

" Eleventhly, Make no grant or leave of any thing of ours, till office be found, or record entered, and an indifferent survey or valuation thereof made, and that then the sum be put in charge in the proper offices, and the grantee give you a security for rents and covenants.

" Twelfthly, Let new surveys be made of all forfeited, escheated, and concealed lands, &c.

" Thirteenthly, Improve trade as far as you can, without breach of the acts of navigation and transportation of Irish cattle; particularly encourage fishery, the linen manufactory, and the resort of protestant strangers, and if they amount to any number, we will order them such privileges for their religion as will best consist with the peace of that kingdom. Have a strict eye to the transportation of wool; take bonds diligently, and prosecute them severely; and the better to discover frauds, transmit your bonds hither, to be compared with the certificates here. Also prevent the abuse of coining, vending, and uttering small moneys.

Fourteenthly, Endeavour to bring all to a conformity in the religion by law established; and acquaint us with what difficulties you meet therein.

" Fifteenthly,

H I  
 " I  
 zines,  
 petre.  
 " S  
 profit  
 castle-  
 punish  
 therefo  
 re-settl  
 of tha  
 fences,  
 duty f  
 " So  
 is to re  
 " Ei  
 conditio  
 Nine  
 duke o  
 council  
 fit to b  
 referenc  
 them.  
 " La  
 return  
 been sai  
 grief o  
 laws ag  
 vicars g  
 municat  
 monstra  
 tions."  
 But  
 ants and  
 regard t  
 to try w  
 whicheve  
 point of  
 quieted.

"Fifteenthly, Inspect our forts, castles, magazines, and stores, and endeavour to make salt-petre.

"Sixteenthly, As we are informed, That small profit hath heretofore come to our exchequer by castle-chamber fines, misdemeanours proper for punishment in that court were many; we would therefore you look into the reason thereof, and to re-settle and uphold the honour and jurisdiction of that court, for the repressing exorbitant offences, wherein our learned council are to do their duty faithfully.

"Seventeenthly, The vice-treasurer or deputy is to receive all money.

"Eighteenthly, Reduce the monies there to the condition of sterling, and establish a mint there.

Nineteenthly, Finding some propositions of the duke of Ormond (recorded in the register of council causes in sixteen hundred and sixty-nine) fit to be observed, we have reserved them with reference to your government thereof;—Observe them.

"Lastly, several of the popish clergy since the return of the duke of Ormond hither, having been said to exercise their jurisdiction, to the great grief of the remonstrants: if so, execute the laws against the titular archbishops, bishops, and vicars generals, that have threatened or excommunicated the remonstrants; and protect such remonstrants as have not withdrawn their subscriptions."—

But now the differences between the protestants and papists began again to blaze out, in regard to the disputed claims of particular estates, to try which various commissions were issued, but whichever way these matters were determined in point of right, the minds of neither party were quieted.

It

If I were to follow the author before-mentioned, I should execrate the catholics for daring to think of any claims, however just; for he says, "The pretended grievances had they been true were few and small, and it were much better for the public *that even greater irregularities than were complained of should remain unremedied, than that the great and common security of the nation should be shaken:*" And this would be most certainly true, if the restoring a few private persons, who were injured, to their lawful inheritance could shake it; but indeed the matter appears to have been quite the reverse; and, on the contrary, the denial of such acts of justice, or the perpetrating act of oppression was most at such a juncture to shake the state; or at least was certain to widen the breach between the two parties, which a prudent legislature ought to have used every endeavour to avoid.

"Nevertheless, prejudices ran so high at this time that regardless of such just and wise policy the parliament of England bent on humbling the catholics of Ireland, framed and presented the following petition:

"WE, your majesty's most loyal subjects the commons in this present parliament assembled, taking into consideration the great calamities which have formerly befallen your majesty's subjects of the kingdom of Ireland from the popish recusants there, who for the most part are professed enemies to the protestant religion and the English interest, and how they make use of your majesty's gracious disposition and clemency, and are at this time grown more insolent and presumptuous than formerly, to the apparent danger of that kingdom, and your majesty's protestant subjects,

jects t  
wife p  
dorn o  
having  
most p  
do in  
our pe

"F  
the pol  
dom,  
the ac  
upon,  
into I  
day of  
extraor  
of par  
thereby  
ner, to  
and, i  
charge  
in Irel  
the wh

"Se  
that n  
admitt  
corone  
that k

"T  
bishop  
ercising  
thority  
tended  
disloya  
laws)  
with t  
your n  
secutec  
yents,

jects there, the consequence whereof may likewise prove very fatal to this your majesty's kingdom of England, if not timely prevented. And having seriously weighed what remedies may be most properly applied to these growing distempers do in all humility present your majesty with these our petitions.

"First, That, for the establishment and quieting the possessions of your majesty's subjects in that kingdom, your majesty would be pleased to maintain the act of settlement and explanatory act thereupon, and to recall the commissions of enquiry into Irish affairs, bearing date the seventeenth day of January last, as containing many new and extraordinary powers, not only to the prejudice of particular persons, whose estates and titles are thereby liable to be questioned: but, in a manner, to the overthrow of the acts of settlements, and, if pursued, may be the occasion of great charge and attendance to many of your subjects in Ireland, and shake the peace and security of the whole.

"Secondly, That your majesty would give orders, that no papist be either continued, or hereafter admitted to be judges, justices of peace, sheriffs, coroners, or mayors, sovereigns, or portreeves in that kingdom.

"Thirdly, That the titular popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, abbots, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the pope's authority, (and in particular, Peter Talbot, pretended archbishop of Dublin; for his notorious disloyalty to your majesty, and contempt of your laws) may be commanded by proclamation forthwith to depart out of Ireland, and all others of your majesty's dominions, or otherwise to be prosecuted according to law. And that all convents, seminaries, and popish schools may be dissolved



solved and suppressed, and the secular priests commanded to depart, under the like penalty.

“ Fourthly, That no Irish papist be admitted to inhabit in any part of that kingdom, unless duly licensed, according to the aforesaid acts of settlement. And that your majesty would be pleased to recal your letters of the twenty-sixth of February, sixteen hundred and seventy-six, and the proclamation thereupon, whereby general licence is given to such papists as inhabit in corporations there.

“ Fifthly, That your majesty’s letters of the twenty-eighth of September, sixteen hundred and seventy-two, and the order of council thereupon, whereby your subjects are required not to prosecute any actions against the Irish, for any wrongs or injuries committed during the last rebellion, may likewise be recalled.”—

Yet, after all this deep-strained policy, neither these petitioners, nor the state itself could hinder the catholics from gaining ground insensibly, during the latter end of this reign; so seldom is it that oppression answers the end it aims at; never indeed with a people of any consideration, till their spirit is entirely broken, and all their internal strength decayed, or till the chief among them are transplanted to other regions.—So indeed it fared with the Irish catholics, the hour of their final reduction was not yet come, and before that all attempts tending that way were worse than useless, for they only served an end directly contrary to that which they were intended to answer.—

Arthur, earl of Essex, was sworn lord lieutenant in August, sixteen hundred and seventy-two, and so continued till August, sixteen hundred and seventy-seven, when he was recalled,  
and

and James, duke of Ormond sent over in his stead, in whose administration the noise which the extraordinary popish plot made in England, occasioned, according to custom, several new restraints to be put upon the innocent catholics in Ireland, all which only tended to make matters worse; but the ministry being little liked by the people, thought proper to suffer them to amuse themselves with plots rather than busy themselves with such enquiries into measures, as might not turn out altogether to their advantage.---Papists were not only disarmed as usual, and titular archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, and other dignitaries, commanded immediately to depart the kingdom by a certain time, and all catholic societies, convents, seminaries; and schools, ordered to dissolve themselves; but the papists were forbidden entering any castle or walled towns, and prohibited meeting together even on or about matters that had no reference to religion or politics. A proclamation was also issued offering rewards to such as would inform against any officers or soldiers who had been seen at mass, and the most diligent search commanded to be made for such catholics should not have transported themselves according to the preceding proclamation. The friends and relations of tories were ordered to be seized and imprisoned until their acquaintance or kinsfolks were taken, insomuch that every catholic stood in a manner accused for his neighbour, and even every protestant for his catholic relation. In short, matters were carried so far, and so many useful persons removed out of many of the trading towns by means of these oppressions, that the protestants themselves were obliged to petition that they might be permitted to return, on account of the stagnation of trade and other public inconveniences which must otherwise

wife have followed, which last sensible procedure Sir Richard Cox is pleased to term *stupidity*, though certainly it was dictated by maxims of the soundest policy and right reason.

In the month of May, in the year sixteen hundred and eighty-two, the lord lieutenant, passing over to England, left a lord deputy in his stead; and in the succeeding year a commission of grace was issued to the chief governor, chancellor, high treasurer, chancellor of the exchequer, the three chief judges, the master of the rolls, secretary of state, the second justice of the king's bench, and the two barons of the exchequer, to grant his majesty's title to those who were in possession, and to grant manors and other privileges for a reasonable time;—and by virtue hereof, a court called *The Court of Grace*, sat at the king's inns; but this court was dissolved by the death of the king, which happened the sixth day of February, in the year sixteen hundred and eighty-four, which event will occasion us for a while to turn our eyes upon the administration of affairs in England.

Though few princes had been more popular than Charles during a few of the first years of his reign, yet the people, forgetting their professions of loyalty to him, soon after altered their behaviour; and he too, on his part, forgetting the inconveniencies he had suffered, was sometimes too remiss in what concerned them. — Latterly the parliaments had been disobliging, Charles therefore had resolved to govern without them. — The duke of York, as being a catholic, was become odious to the people, and many schemes were formed to get him excluded from the succession to the crown, — which the duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, vainly hoped might devolve upon himself. In the mean time,

the

H  
the  
daug  
ing  
vanta  
papif  
heart  
end  
cline  
banish  
head  
to ma  
and n  
dom,  
than  
power,  
a mild  
ther's  
Thin  
the Se  
virtues  
which  
his neg  
sure rat  
no ver  
Stuarts,  
which a  
occasion  
name, h  
brand  
and fals  
man, he  
and a so  
failing,  
him mor  
ther, an  
distingui  
might ari  
lost him  
Vol. I

the prince of Orange, who had married James's daughter, fomented these troubles in secret, hoping that he might one day turn them to advantage. Plots, pretended on the side of the papists; and real on that of the republicans, heart-burnings, and jealousies, marked the latter end of Charles's reign, and imbibited the decline of his life. The duke of York, alternately banished and recalled, was at length put at the head of affairs in Scotland; which he found means to manage with a high hand, imposed new oaths; and new modelled the government of the kingdom, where nevertheless he was rather feared than beloved, and which, notwithstanding all his power, served but as a place when he suffered a mild and voluntary banishment from his brother's presence, and from the court of England.

Things were in this situation when Charles the Second expired, who was a prince of some virtues and many fine accomplishments, most of which however had contracted such a rust by his negligence of them, and his attention to pleasure rather than business, that, as a prince, he bore no very high character. He was, like all the Stuarts, strongly attached to his prerogative, which attachment caused him much uneasiness, and occasioned many to rank him as a tyrant; a name, however, that he did not deserve, and to brand his memory with charges equally odious and false, and unworthy of his greatness---As a man, he possessed great good-nature, a lively wit, and a solid understanding; but he had one great failing, which both in public and private hurt him more than all his other faults put together, and this was a neglect of rewarding and distinguishing his friends, a neglect which though it might arise rather from fickleness than ingratitude, lost him and his family the hearts of many thousands.



sands in the three kingdoms. On the whole, Charles was a prince of some parts, an accomplished and well meaning man, but a friend too fickle to be depended on.

Notwithstanding all the attempts to exclude James, and though Charles himself but two days before his death had intended to recal his son and send his brother to Scotland; yet this latter, immediately upon his decease, was proclaimed king of England, by the style and title of James the Second, delivered a popular speech from the throne, and at first bade fair for reconciling the different parties to his government.

In Dublin likewise he was proclaimed, (as soon as the news of the late king's death reached that capital) to the great joy of the Irish catholics, who, ever ready to catch new hopes and new impressions, doubted not but that all things would go on to their minds, now they had a king of their own religion. The detail of excesses which they ran into on this occasion is very probably much enlarged by Cox and other protestant writers, who even aver, "That the Irish [meaning the Irish papists] in the short reign of king James, did commit more insolencies on the English than these did on them in five hundred years past." However, it is very likely that men of their disposition, who had lately been laid under such restraints as I mentioned above, might be ready enough to run to extremes when they imagined that they were at the eve of having all power in their own hands, which actions of theirs in the end turned out to their own disadvantage.

Amongst other matters, the Irish, who in the former reign were the accused, now became the accusers, and a great number of protestants, suspected to be ill-affected to James, were indicted for

H  
for  
tog  
ma  
stea  
by  
the  
to  
par  
but  
whi  
stitu  
dose  
ditio  
inde  
men  
gun  
O  
and  
Lond  
the l  
were  
power  
Tyrco  
army,  
gan t  
of the  
fected  
every  
faithfu  
gency,  
purpos  
land.—  
But  
as lord  
chance  
designs  
tenant  
so well

for treasonable words and unlawful combinations, together with other such offences, of which the major part were found Not Guilty.—Instead of detesting those meannesses of informers, by which they suffered, the catholics now became themselves informers, and thus the state seemed to have insured its safety on either hand, one party acting perpetually as spies upon the other; but it should be remembered that governments which require such helps as these are like constitutions that must be perpetually drenched with doses of violent physic, in too tottering a condition to be expected to last long; and this was indeed afterwards literally verified of the government of king James the Second, which had begun under such unlucky auspices.

On the last day of March, in sixteen hundred and eighty-five, the duke of Ormond came to London, having resigned the sword of state to the lord primate, and the earl of Granard, who were nominated lords justices, though the chief power was supposed to be vested in the earl of Tyrconnel, who was lieutenant general of the army, and who had disarmed the militia, and began to new model his troops, turning out many of the protestants whom he deemed not well affected to the king his master, and seeking by every means to keep on foot such a body of faithful soldiers as might stand by him on any emergency, and help him effectually to execute any purposes he might wish to bring to bear in Ireland.—

But the earl of Clarendon arriving soon after as lord lieutenant, and Sir Charles Porter as lord chancellor, in a great measure checked the earl's designs, which notwithstanding his post as lieutenant general, and a devoted army he could not so well bring about without being made chief governor

vernor of the kingdom. This was a step, however, by no means too high for him to advance, and the court who proceeded rapidly in their alterations of government, were not long before they bestowed the administration upon him in the quality of lord lieutenant, removing both his rivals.

The complaints against this nobleman's conduct, when he got the sword of state into his hands, are innumerable. Sir Richard Cox says, "He quickly turned the edge of it upon the protestants, who were amazed to see him act so openly, in so despotic and arbitrary a manner, for some of his agents not only disbanded most part of the remaining English, but insulted on their misery by doing it reproachfully, and added to their affliction by turning them out far from their friends, and their habitations, and took away the cloaths of some, and the horses and arms of others, without giving them any proportionable recompence; and he also changed the Irish soldiers so often that though the army did not consist of above seven or eight thousand men, yet five times that number (by these frequent changes) were taught the use of their arms; and by these means he had a considerable militia ready on all occasions.—Moreover, he issued *quo warranto's* against all the charters at once; and although that procedure did manifest to the world that it was not the fault of any one or more corporations that was endeavoured to be punished or reformed, but that it was a fixed design to subvert the corporations, and consequently to model the parliament and the laws to the interest and humour of the papists. Yet being masters of standing armies both in England and Ireland, they thought themselves sure of their game, and that it would be more generous and brave if they acted

acted publicly, and as it were in defiance.— Therefore they dissembled the matter no longer, but appointed the popish judges in each court, that they might be sure of a majority upon all occasions ; they also appointed popish high sheriffs throughout the kingdom, and put so many papists into the commission of peace, the privy council, and all places of authority, that they were able to rule all wherever they came. And as soon as the charters were condemned there were new ones granted, for the most part to such inconsiderable persons as were unable to pay for them ; so that many were left with the attorney-general for his fees ;—however, in all these charters they put in near one third English, most of which were quakers or other dissenters, but at the same time took care to limit the power, (and especially that of chusing members of parliament) so that the English, if unanimous, should not be able to give them any impediment.”

So far Sir Richard Cox.—And indeed though that author may often be suspected of exaggerating, he seems, from concurring testimonies to have come near to the truth in the above relations. A policy so absurd and so precipitate in James could be dictated by nothing but the blindest zeal for his religion, the most egregious bigotry to the faith and interests of the Romish church, and could be equalled by nothing but the rash measures of the same prince in England, where he seemed as it were to labour to lose the hearts of such as were his loyal subjects.

Englishmen have *often* been known to shew striking proofs of their affection and attachment to princes ; but they have *always* been found to exhibit a still stronger to their laws and liberty ; so that when these come in competition, the former



mer has always given way before the latter:—whenever any degree of power was lodged in the hands of the people, or even of the nobles to assert them.—Hence it was, that though many from an affection to their ancient line of princes, were ready enough to support James against the exclusioners, and to assist him when his own blood rebelled against him, yet when they saw him about to bring in a new religion by his own arbitrary will, and to assume a power of dispensing with the laws established by the constitution, they abandoned him without pity or remorse, and were better pleased to acquiesce under the government of an alien, and a foreigner, than to suffer such a monarch any longer to rule over them.

The duke of Monmouth taking advantage of the height to which party-disputes ran in England, raised an insurrection in the west, and attacked the king's troops that were sent to oppose him, under the conduct of the earl of Feversham with great fury; but after an obstinate engagement, victory declared in favour of the royalists, the duke's new raised levies were routed; and some days afterwards he himself was taken prisoner. James had admitted him to his presence, but finding him averse to making such concessions as it was thought proper to demand of him, the captive was conveyed back to the tower, and afterwards executed upon a public scaffold; and the prince of Orange, who, without seeming to take a part in these troubles had privately fomented them, now saw himself rid of a rival to the pretensions of his prince, on the one hand, whilst on the other he beheld the English nation ripe for the commencement of commotions, which, it is probable, he had perceived

tration

H  
trati  
cal  
In  
cure  
Mon  
the f  
was  
that  
his fo  
served  
waited  
how  
injurie  
dawn  
and S  
nay, t  
" Tha  
solid, a  
vested,  
ciples v  
king's t  
thority.  
Yet a  
glory.  
took adv  
tholics in  
tary, and  
knowledg  
resolved  
His next  
of Oxfor  
dered the  
dissenters  
six bishop  
command  
tried for  
proceeded  
his enem

tration enough to discern he might one day be called to appease.

In the mean time, James thought himself securely fixed upon the throne by his arms against Monmouth, with whom he fondly imagined fell the spirit of the English nation. But herein he was most egregiously deceived; for the fate of that nobleman and the cruelties committed on his followers by general Kirk and judge Jeffreys, served but to irritate the people, and they only waited the first opportunity to convince the king how much they were inclined to revenge these injuries.—He, however, seemed to have a short dawn of prosperity; the parliaments of England and Scotland professed to be devoted to him; nay, the latter in an act they passed, averred, “That the blessings they enjoyed were owing to solid, absolute authority with which kings were invested, and expressed their abhorrence of all principles which were contrary or derogatory to the king’s sacred, supreme, absolute power, and authority.”

Yet all this was but a short-lived blaze of glory. The king in the height of his exultation took advantage of these successes to introduce catholics into offices of trust and power, civil and military, and finding the parliament was bent not to acknowledge his dispensing power in such a case, he was resolved to prorogue it, and proceed without them. His next step was to dispute with the university of Oxford concerning its privileges. Then he ordered the clergy to read a public indulgence of dissenters from the church of England, on which six bishops petitioning against it, were by his command sent to the tower, but being afterwards tried for a seditious libel were acquitted.—And thus proceeded from one rash action to another, till his enemies finding all things ripe for their purpose,

pose, stimulated the heads of the people to call in William prince of Orange, his son-in law, to redress their grievances.

James about the same time was pressed by Louis the Fourteenth to admit of the assistance of a French fleet and army to preserve his authority, which offer he was so obstinate as to refuse, for fear of losing the confidence of his people, which it was easy to perceive was lost already. Nothing was more true than that the Stuarts never were nor knew how to be complete tyrants. Had the prince in question possessed either the subtlety or ambition of a tyrant, in effect had he been well read in king-craft, he would have perceived that after what had happened there were no measures to be kept between him and such a people as the English, and that from the moment the two parties come to such an open and avowed dispute of power and obedience, one or other of them must begin to sink in the scale of fortune. On this account it would certainly have been a piece of policy in him to have accepted the proffered aid of Louis (which certainly had something in it beyond the mere policy of princes) and then to have thrown the odium of first soliciting foreign succours back upon the people from whom he now had so little to expect. Such would have been the measures of one thoroughly read in Machiavel, which I have only hinted at here in order to support the maxim, "That none of the Stuarts ever knew how to be complete tyrants, and that even James was not arrived at that character though he certainly approached the nearest to it of all the four."

This infatuated prince still pursuing his imprudent courses, now beheld the whole nation ready to rise up against him together as one man.

man.  
a stan  
disple  
tests.  
the d  
a brok  
big w

Hollan  
winds,  
length  
Torba  
up in  
struck  
news,  
vant c  
one eff  
his arm  
be reso  
here o  
his chi  
duke o  
went o  
all the  
cause.

In t  
no tim  
towards  
abandon  
fence at  
seemed  
this dil  
called o  
mitting  
time th  
these pr  
the peo

man. He kept a body of soldiers that formed a standing army; but even these shewed their displeasure at his endeavouring to abrogate the tests. It was in vain that he had recourse to the dissenters, in trusting to them he leaned upon a broken reed, while every succeeding day seemed big with some new misfortune.

—The prince of Orange had set sail from Holland, and though long detained by contrary winds, and even once driven back again, at length obtained a prosperous gale which landed at Torbay, whilst it kept the English vessels blocked up in their harbours. James and his court were struck with a panic terror when they heard the news, friend after friend and servant after servant deserted the unhappy king. Yet making one effort to rise beneath oppression, he went to his army, at whose head if they proved faithful he resolved to conquer or die. But alas! he was here once more baffled. The lord Cornbury, his chief favourite colonel Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough, and other great persons went over to the prince of Orange, and almost all the officers in general seemed ill-disposed to his cause.

In the mean time William, who knew that no time was to be lost, proceeded on his march towards the capital, whilst James found himself abandoned on all hands (Louis having taken offence at the refusal of the French troops, being seemed resolved to leave him to his fate) In this dilemma a body of Irish soldiers had been called over, a measure as odious as that of admitting French ones would have been at the same time that it was by no means efficacious; for these proving successless, served only to irritate the people whom they could not subdue.

In



In the midst of the disputes with the bishops, the queen had been brought to bed; as those prelates were in the tower who ought to have been present at the birth of the prince of Wales, it was immediately reported abroad that a false prince was imposed upon the people. Absurd as this scandal was there were not wanting thousands to believe it; James therefore, when his troubles increased, took the resolution of sending before him into France his royal consort, and this young prince to whom he had no expectations that the English would shew any mark of favour or attachment, having given them his promise that he himself would soon follow them to the place of their retreat, if things did not change for the better in England.—He was soon convinced that they would not, and at last his favourite daughter the princess Anne and most of those in whom he placed his last resorts having left him, he attempted to quit the kingdom, but was for the first time prevented; however afterwards when the prince of Orange sent his guards at midnight to desire the king to leave his palace and repair to Ham, he would suffer no resistance to be made, but only demanded to retire to Rochester, which was accordingly granted. From thence he embarked at length on board a small vessel, which carried him in safety to France.

James being thus retired, the lords and commons after much wrangling and disputing, at length voted that he had abdicated the crown which they meant at first to have conferred on the princess Mary his daughter alone, but William now plainly shewing what his designs were, gave them to understand that he would not hold any power dependant either on James or his daughter.—Therefore they found themselves necessitated to confer

confer  
confor  
alone,  
it, and

Thu  
the B  
many,  
and fe  
too m  
mediat  
He for  
not fa  
rienced  
already  
had di  
posed  
wrough  
trefs.

pruden  
and Sco  
he neg  
from n  
unravel  
opening  
country  
therefor  
head o  
and Iri

Here  
that w  
having  
raised a  
gether a  
foot an  
(the pr  
obedien  
had pre  
employ

confer the royal state jointly upon him and his consort, vesting all the executive power in him alone, who had wrought so artfully to maintain it, and would not now be disappointed.

Thus did the prince of Orange at last mount the British throne, amidst the good wishes of many, the execrations of some, but the doubts and fears of all. That prince was possessed of too much penetration to suppose he should immediately be quietly possessed of his dominions. He foresaw that the old partisans of James would not fail to give him uneasiness. He had experienced so much of the disposition of the English already as led him to think that even those who had disapproved of the king's conduct, and opposed him during his prosperity, might yet be wrought upon to pity and assist him in his distress. He therefore took all those methods which prudence suggested to him to secure England and Scotland, yet, in the midst of all his policy, he neglected to pursue those measures in Ireland, from motives of conduct which it is hard to unravel. Whatever these were, it left so fair an opening for James to make an attempt upon the country, as he was resolved not to let slip, he therefore left his retreat in France, and at the head of about two thousand five hundred British and Irish soldiers, landed in Ireland.

Here he found that Tyrconnel had done all that was in his power to promote his interest, having kept his old army steady, and likewise raised a new one for his service, both which together amounted to no less than thirty thousand foot and eight thousand horse, all the kingdom (the province of Ulster only excepted) being in obedience to him. — Colonel Hamilton who had previously broken his faith to William, was employed to reduce those who were in rebellion and

A. D.

1688.

William III

Dalrymple's  
memoirs.

and driving them from place to place, at last most completely routed them at Drummore, after which the bravest yet remaining amongst them drew together, to the number of ten thousand round Londonderry, whilst the rest more timid skulked about in holes and corners, or fled to England or Scotland to hide themselves.

With so good a prospect of success, James would have been likely to have attained the summit of his wishes, if he would have lent an ear to prudent advice. The lord Dundee, a nobleman of great valour and prudence, who united in his person the spirit of an ancient hero with all the fine accomplishments of a gentleman, pressed his sovereign to embark with a considerable part of his army for Scotland, in which country there were no regular troops, excepting only four regiments that king William had lately sent thither, where his presence might fix the wavering, and overawe the timid, and where, as he urged, hosts of shepherds would start up warriors at the first waving of his banner upon the mountains. From England by some who had been with him in Ireland, he was advised to repair directly to England with all his forces. These men wisely argued, "That it was in vain for him to consume time in completing the conquest of a country, nine tenths of which he had already under his dominion, and which nature itself seemed to have decreed should always follow the fortune of England. The gain that would accrue from bringing the remainder of Ireland under subjection was justly represented as trifling; whilst if the attempt should fail, the disgrace in such a case would render the loss important.— In the present unsettled state of things, while France threatened, while England was in open discontent, while Scotland was ready to burst out  
into

into a fla  
their be  
to shake  
overwe  
first repo  
spirit, an  
They sai  
be more  
contest,  
dom, in  
and respe  
that conc  
tance like  
weakening  
But al  
engage J  
if he wer  
favoured  
would be  
away from  
as they w  
of the co  
repaired to  
he would  
ancestors  
while they  
imagined t  
Such re  
as, preva  
ament to  
e spring,  
onquest o  
erry.—Sor  
ownsmen  
neral Ha  
ho when  
them, r  
d already

into a flame; whilst the Irish were prepared to shed their best blood in his service, now was the time to shake a throne usurped and unsettled, and to overwhelm a people that always trembled at the first report of an invasion, but gathered strength, spirit, and union to oppose it when long delayed. They said if he should fail of success, it would be more glorious for him to fail in one great contest, or even to fall in the heart of his kingdom, in the eyes of his native subjects, pitied and respected as he would then be, even by those that conquered him, than to wage war at a distance like a fugitive, wasting the provinces, and weakening the strength of his country."

But all these arguments proved insufficient to engage James to trust himself in Ireland, where if he went to the highlanders, those whom he favoured most persuaded him that then his conquests would be barren, whilst his troops would melt away from him, overcome by famine and fatigue, as they wandered from hill to hill like the mists of the country.—And if, on the other hand, he repaired to the territories of the low-land Scotch, he would have to deal with a set of them whose ancestors had betrayed his royal father, and who while they were contending against their king, imagined they were fighting for their God.

Such reasoning, weak and inconclusive as it was, prevailed; James after having called a parliament to meet him at Dublin, set off early in the spring, with the design of completing the conquest of Ulster by the reduction of Londonderry.—Some of the Irish writers pretend, that the Geoghegan townsmen had offered to surrender on terms to General Hamilton, before his master's approach, so when he became acquainted with the tenor of them, refused to agree to what the general had already ratified; a circumstance which, they say,



say, accounts for the obstinate defence the gar-  
rison made. If this account be not true, (as  
the English, who ought to know best say) it is  
really strange the Irish should throw such a slur  
upon king James as to assert it; but that the  
reader may judge for himself, I will here insert  
the English account as given by a modern writ-  
ter of great judgement and perspicuity.

Dalrymple's  
Memoirs.

" Amidst the difficulties (says he) which Wil-  
liam had to find officers whom he could trust,  
he had appointed colonel Lundie to be gover-  
nor of Londonderry; a man whose fidelity was  
so little known, that the officer sent to him from  
England with the stores of war, was ordered not  
to deliver his charge until Lundie had taken  
the oaths in his presence to the new govern-  
ment. This governor, having been once one of  
Tyrconnel's officers, had seemingly quitted the  
interests of king James only, in reality with a  
view to serve them more effectually. As the  
prince's army advanced towards Londonderry, he  
abandoned pass after pass, sometimes with feeble  
and sometimes with no defence; and at last, upon  
the thirteenth day of April, took refuge in  
the town.

" Two days before king James could over-  
take Lundie, two regiments under the command  
of the colonels Richard and Cunningham, ar-  
rived in the lake which communicates between  
the sea and the town. Their orders being dis-  
cretionary, to land the troops or not, they con-  
ferred to join Lundie, who wrote them an am-  
biguous answer, in one part of his letter desiring  
them to land the troops committed to their charge,  
and in another part of it telling them that the  
place was not tenable, referring them for fur-  
ther particulars to the officer who brought the  
letter; and he delivered them orders not to land

the troops, but to come into the town themselves some with of their officers, in order to attend a council of war. To this council which Lundie had summoned, he painted the situation of affairs in a most dreadful light, asserting that, to his own particular knowledge, besides a scarcity of military stores and ammunition, there were not provisions even for ten days in the town. The council hereupon came to a resolution, (which was opposed only by Richard) of not landing the troops, and also determined that all the officers should privately withdraw themselves from the town. The two colonels then with some of their officers returned to their ships, and Lundie afterwards calling a meeting of the town-council, it was resolved to send messengers to king James with an offer to surrender the town the next day.

"It had been intended to keep the result of these councils secret, but the town-clerk, who had been admitted to a share of them, communicated them to an assembled multitude, on which both they and many of the soldiers of the garrison cried out that they were betrayed, rose in fury against the governor, reviled the town council, and shot the officers. Hence arose the highest uproar and division; for while some were framing the terms of surrender, others were planting guns on the walls. In one place the people were pressed to yield to necessity; in another voices were heard calling to fire upon those who made such a proposal.

"During this state of public distraction, James was slowly advancing with his army to take possession of a town which had sent messengers to receive him; whilst, on the opposite side captain Murray, a brave officer, was coming up with all speed to prevent the surrender. Lundie sent him orders to retire from the view of the inhabitants;

bitants; but great numbers stretching forth their arms and bodies from the walls, and calling upon him by name, and upon all his followers whom they knew, to advance to their relief, he entered the place. In broken speeches he called to the multitude, who surrounded him as soon as he passed the gate, to remember glory, safety, their religion, their country, themselves, their posterity, with other topics which natural passion dictated, or the present exigency required. He pointed to different persons, to secure the gates, to run to arms, to mount the walls, to point the guns, He directed all those whose voices were for defending the town to distinguish themselves by tying a white cloth round their left arms. From thence he hastened to Lundie then sitting in council, whom he tried but in vain to sooth with flattery, or rouse by reproaches. In the mean time the multitude rushed to obey the orders they had received, fired upon king James, killed an officer by his side, and obliged him to retire."

So that, according to this account, which is the most probable, James was not guilty of the breach of honour that some of those who have written in other respects partially in his favour would infer. The contradictory behaviour of the people, who were of two parties, occasioned it; and that which prevailed in the end, proved sufficiently capable of supporting what they had done, though even they were struck with a deep concern after the first hurry of their spirits was over, when they had reflected what they had done, and what they had to expect if the king's troops should prevail. But custom by degrees wore off these terrors, and they resolved to defend the place to the last extremity; though the officers and the regiments returned to England, and

• Some of  
tion only ten  
this siege, th  
after raising it,

VOL. II

and Lundie found means to quit the town in disguise, when he found all his endeavours to serve the unfortunate James had miscarried.

That prince's army amounted to near \* twenty thousand men, as the English writers say; but they were not all well armed, or effective; however it might have been expected that a much less number should have been able to reduce a town which was defended only by about seven thousand five hundred militia, and was not well provided with warlike stores, still worse with necessary provisions.

Major Baker was chosen governor by the inhabitants, after the departure of colonel Lundie, and desiring a colleague in his office, as religion was one of the principal motives assigned for their opposition, they chose one Walker to assist him, who, though a clergyman, was by no means of that meek and peaceable disposition which causes men to sit down tamely under injuries done them by their equals, or to submit in every thing to the will of the higher powers. He co-operated vigorously with Baker for the defence of the town, and most of the inhabitants possessing the old spirit of enthusiasm of the Ulster Scotch, drew happy presages from this extraordinary union of the gown and the sword. These men formed both the garrison and the townsmen into a number of regiments proportioned to the bastions, and to create emulation, different parts of the works were peculiarly given in charge to certain different regiments. Having repaired their fortifications and mounted their guns, they gave the besiegers a brisk reception. They repulsed

\* Some of the Irish writers mention only ten thousand employed in this siege, though they allow that after raising it, twenty thousand re-

paired to James at Drogheda; but I have followed the English account, as in my opinion far the more probable of the two.



Dalrymple's  
Memoirs.

them from their lines, they made havoc of them in frequent sallies, and harrassed them with perpetual alarms. In all these expeditions the command was offered to any officer who would undertake it, a method, which though it might be disapproved of by those attached to the strict rules of war, was yet very properly adapted to these irregular forces, whose success it was evident must depend rather on their ardour than their discipline; a method too which perhaps might often be practised with success even by regulars, as sallies mostly depend upon the vivacity with which they are conducted, and are generally calculated to surprise an unguarded rather than to attack a provided enemy. Murray indeed attempted carrying these maxims still farther, and he was in the right, considering whom he was to address himself to. He used to fly from man to man, exciting ardour in their bosoms as occasion was, either to defend the works or to annoy the besiegers. At such times he used to tell them "That it was not a few military evolutions, nor the movement of arms by rule, the mere parade and foppery of war, that made soldiers, but strong bodies, stronger minds, the contempt of dangers and of death; or that if, in regular fields of battle, disciplined troops had the advantage, yet that advantage was useless here, where the defenders fought behind walls, a situation in which those who could bear the most fatigue, and durst stand longest at their posts, must, in the end, prevail in the contest." That the enthusiasm of religion might be added to that of courage, Walker used to promise the soldiers who died in battle upon these occasions a sure reception into heaven, pointing first to their churches, then to the sky: These were the holy tunes from which their enemies were to drive them.

them,  
the a  
they  
wonder  
upon,  
wonder  
have a  
more p  
officers  
have r  
not be  
firmly  
cessity,  
Whi  
bert at  
but wa  
ing ma  
charge,  
try. —  
had bee  
claimed,  
speeches  
generosit  
with hi  
nation, c  
for his f  
But th  
and the  
did not  
for the l  
a defeat  
knowing  
not beha  
when it c  
miral on  
his service  
he knew

them, if they survived, with disgrace.—“*That* was the asylum prepared for them by their God, if they died with glory in his cause.” It was no wonder that men whose passions, were they wrought upon, should make an obstinate defence; all the wonder appeared that the Irish, who seemed to have as powerful motives of religion, and still more powerful supports, and who neither wanted for officers nor priests to encourage them, should not have reduced this rabble of war. But the Irish, not being so much distressed, were neither so firmly united, nor reduced to such strong necessity, to exert their utmost efforts for their safety.

While these things were passing, admiral Herbert attacked the French fleet near Bantry bay, but was defeated by them, and the latter having made good a disembarkation they had in charge, returned victorious to their own country. — When James was told his countrymen had been thus defeated by the French, he exclaimed, “It is the first time then!”—one of those speeches for which some people may admire his generosity; but considering the Frenchmen he had with him, and the hopes he rested upon that nation, every man of reflexion must condemn him for his folly.

But the English, amidst all their ill successes, and the distractions occasioned by them at home, did not despair. There is no nation like them for the happy facility with which they can turn a defeat to a triumph. In this case, William knowing their temper, and believing they had not behaved ill, went down to visit the fleet when it came to Portsmouth, dined with the admiral on board his ship, and knighted him for his services. In effect, he praised those whom he knew it was to no purpose to blame; he

persuaded them that they had defeated the enemy, and they readily believed him.

As the defence of Londonderry was much talked of in England, general Kirk was sent out to assist the besieged, and arrived in the lake of Derry on the thirteenth day of June.

“ Upon the sight of his fleet which consisted of thirty sail, the besieged gave the usual salutations of joy. But perceiving them received with silence, and no jovial returns made by the seamen; they looked upon each other with foreboding eyes. Soon after they were informed that Kirk upon receiving information that the passage of the river to the town was secured by works, had resolved to retire to the Inch, an island six miles from Londonderry.

“ These works were batteries along the banks, vessels sunk in the channel, and a boom which had been thrown across the river, and which was defended by two forts; and all these were reported to be much stronger than they were. Upon these sad news the besieged made signals of distress from their steeples to Kirk, but in vain. After a short stay, he set sail, the inhabitants of the town following his ships with their eyes as long as they could perceive them. Kirk chose the Inch for station, because it facilitated the junction of the volunteers who lay at Iniskilling with his detachment; and for that reason too he fortified it. From thence he sent a letter to the townsmen, assuring them, in terms full of affection, that every thing in Scotland, England, and Ireland were prosperous, and that succours beyond their wishes were speedily to join them; yet he concluded with giving them in charge to husband well their provisions; a letter more alarming than all the menaces of the enemy.

But

H  
Bu  
dition  
not  
ing t  
vance  
cation  
were  
tended  
cries,  
All th  
inhabi  
lic dev  
created  
visions  
conform  
cathedr  
prevent  
class sho  
other  
June,  
at last  
place.  
Baker t  
this for  
dismayec  
they pre  
starch, s  
vegetable  
nearly sp  
with lea  
pressed t  
were reaso  
“ If he  
betrayed  
in him?”  
“ Jam  
and alar

But the besieged, though in a desperate condition, did not give themselves up to despair: not contented with making sallies and defending the old works of the place, they even advanced new ones, and became expert in fortification and mining, by imitating the arts which were employed against them. The women attended every service, animating the men by their cries, and often assisting them with their hands. All the spare time of the garrison and of the inhabitants was spent in private prayer or public devotion. Yet it was strange, amidst the union created by common danger, to see religious divisions break forth. The conformists and non-conformists insisted each to have possession of the cathedral, nor could mutual slaughter have been prevented, had it not been agreed that the one class should attend service in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon. About the middle of June, when the weather proved sultry, diseases at last seized them, cooped up in a narrow place. They buried fifteen officers in one day. Baker their governor died. Yet even death in this form more dreadful than in that of war, dismayed them not. Their provisions being spent they preserved life by eating horse-flesh, tallow, starch, salted hides, impure animals, and roots of vegetables, &c. When their cannon-ball was nearly spent, they made use of bricks, covered with lead. In this situation general Hamilton pressed them to surrender upon conditions that were reasonable. Their answer consisted in asking, "If he thought they could trust one who had betrayed the trust which their master had put in him?"

"James tired with the tediousness of the siege, and alarmed at Kirk's arrival, sent marshal



Rosen his commander in chief, in the end of June to urge matters with more vigour.

“Rosen having more knowledge in the art of attacking places than the Irish generals, changed the dispositions, invested the place more closely and made many furious but ineffectual assaults. At length, provoked by the valour of the garrison, instead of honouring it, he took a step unparalleled in modern ages: He gave orders that all the inhabitants ten miles round Londonderry should be driven under the walls of the town: he ordered the country to be burned, he proclaimed that if the town did not surrender before ten days were elapsed, that all the inhabitants should be put to the sword: five thousand, or as other writers relate, seven thousand miserable wretches, who were collected from the country around; men, women, the old, the young, even the sick, and nurses with infants hanging on the breast, all were driven with drawn swords under the walls of the town. This device weakened the spirit of James's army by its horror, and strengthened those of the besieged by turning a sedate into a furious valour. Many of the prisoners called to their friends on the walls above them, — To attend to their own interest, not theirs. For that a surrender to men void of all Christian humanity, could not save those who were without, and would only involve those who were within in one common slaughter.” — The Irish officers executed their orders against their countrymen, weeping and obeying; and many of them owned that the cries they then heard rang for ever after in their ears. The besieged on the other hand erecting a gibbet on the bastion nearest the enemy, gave orders to hang up whatever prisoners fell into their hands, and wrote to the enemy to send priests to con-

fess  
45

fels the  
the un  
tinued  
drink,  
them o  
them a  
to do  
fortuna  
diseases.  
homewa  
ashes, h  
some ne  
provisio  
the lan  
were at  
inhuman  
pute th  
revoked  
because  
him to  
“Kir  
heard th  
yet perh  
for crue  
gence th  
sent pro  
provisio  
an atten  
to the p  
and a m  
upon th  
the loss  
to deper  
“As  
upon the  
to that  
to gratif

self them.—During two days and two nights, the unhappy victims of Rolan's resentment continued at the foot of the walls without meat, drink, fire, or shelter, where many hundreds of them died. At the end of that time, such of them as were able to go away were permitted to do so. But those who died were the most fortunate; for others filled with the seeds of diseases, and with dejection, as they wandered homewards, beheld on all sides their habitations in ashes, here and there at distances the smoke of some not extinguished, their cattle, furniture, and provisions carried off. A vast silence reigned over the land; and they envied their companions who were at rest from their miseries. It would be inhuman to the memory of the unhappy to impute the disgrace of this action to James.—He revoked the order as soon as he heard of it, because his own sufferings had probably taught him to feel for that of others."

"Kirk in the mean time (says the same author) heard the cries and saw the fires, though enraged, yet perhaps not displeased to see his own character for cruelty exceeded. At last, receiving intelligence that the garrison, sunk with fatigues, had sent proposals of capitulation, and that they had provisions only for two days, he resolved upon an attempt to throw a convoy of provisions into the place by means of three victualling ships, and a man of war to cover them. An attempt upon the success of which it was obvious to all the loss or deliverance of the town could not fail to depend.

"As soon as these vessels approached the town, upon the thirtieth of July, the Irish army hastened to that side; some to oppose them, and the rest to gratify their curiosity. That part of the garrison

rison which was not upon duty ranged themselves along the walls near the river, with eyes intent, and hands lifted up to Heaven for the success of the convoy. Kirk had been deceived in the strength of the enemies works. The ship of war too, by galling the batteries drew their fire upon itself, and thus saved the victuallers from the danger. The foremost of the latter at the first stroke broke the boom; but ran aground by the turn which this gave to her course. A shout burst from the besiegers as from the mouth of one man, which echoed to the ships, the camp, and the town. Multitudes of them quitting their ranks flew to the shore, and plunged into the water. Some pushed off with their hands the boats they found there, others leaped into them; all advanced or called to advance against the vessel in distress. The smoke of the enemy's fire and of her own covered her from the sight of the besieged. During this darkness and confusion, the besiegers called out from the opposite side of the river, that the vessel was taken. A shrill cry of misery, like the wailing of women was heard from the walls. The common paleness of fear appeared not upon men who had lost all sense of it. For one who was an eye-witness relates, that in the depth of despair they looked black in the eyes of each other. But in a little time the victualler was seen emerging from the smoke, having got off by the rebound of her guns; and she and her followers amidst the tumultuous cries of both parties sailed up to the town, and the next day they raised the siege, after having continued it for three whole months, and one half of the fourth."

The garrison was found to be reduced by sickness, famine, and the sword, to about five thousand men, a thousand of whom were unfit for service,

service,  
looks a  
could  
other  
sand p  
doubt  
defence  
so muc  
the me  
creatur  
the fac

But  
lar per  
to rejo  
from t  
London  
made t  
ple, an  
they h  
no lon  
time a  
mand  
defeat  
at Nev  
would  
he cou  
fear w  
mortal  
party,  
Ireland

The  
compos  
settleme  
at tha  
as they  
exactly  
were d

service, and the rest so strangely altered in their looks and gestures that their most intimate friends could scarcely have known them again. Of the other inhabitants of the town about seven thousand perished, the surviving relations of whom doubtless could not help reflecting that the brave defence for which the prevailing party were now so much honoured and respected, had yet been the means of shortening the date of these poor creatures, and sweeping them untimely off from the face of the earth.

But whatever were the sentiments of particular persons, the body of the protestants seemed to rejoice, and certainly gathered new strength from the news of this success of the people of Londonderry, and in consequence they every where made the greatest efforts to imitate their example, and to check the progress of a prince whom they had never loved, and whom they now chose no longer to regard as their sovereign, At this time a party of Inniskillingers, under the command of colonel Wolfey, that are said to have defeated six thousand of Tyrconnel's Irish troops at Newton Butler, the commander of which would not surrender till being terribly wounded, he could stand no longer, and even then all his fear was least those wounds should not prove mortal, a remarkable example of valour to his party, who began to be somewhat discouraged in Ireland.

The Irish parliament meeting at Dublin being composed mostly of papists, reversed the act of settlement, and the act of attainder, both which at that time were very impolitic measures, but as they had resolved to proceed upon a plan exactly contrary to that of the protestants, they were determined to proceed in it, although the lords



lords lieutenants and judges had declared the intention of their prince to support the act of settlement;---while the act of attainder seemed as if calculated on purpose to raise up to James new enemies, and to confirm the hatred of his old ones.

Among those attainted were two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, twenty-eight viscounts, two viscountesses, seven bishops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, eighty-three clergymen, and near three thousand other persons of inferior quality. Many of these had residence in England or Scotland, and were only attainted for not repairing immediately to James, when he issued a proclamation commanding all his Irish subjects to leave England, when, as there was an embargo between the two kingdoms it was impossible they should have complied. Many other acts were afterwards passed, and ordinances enacted, that were equally imprudent, some of which the king opposed, but in vain; and he soon found himself equally alarmed by divisions among his friends, on the one hand, and the news of the vigorous preparations of his enemies for attacking him on the other.

Thus were James's first designs in many respects in a manner frustrated in Ireland. In the field, the circumstance of the raising the siege of Londonderry, gave occasion even to his friends to draw from it an ill omen of the future event of the war. Baffled as his troops had been before a place which was by no means considerable, there was not a great likelihood they would be ever able to stand before those superior forces, with whose strength they were soon destined to cope;---and all men of sound judgement foresaw that

that t  
better  
which  
tacks

But  
land,  
his ma  
been c  
submis  
with t  
duke  
burgh  
the pro  
sible.

proclai  
of his  
upon t  
him to  
some p  
self wi  
he said  
Montro  
to light  
hills of  
destruct

It w  
gallant  
for Sco  
but fer  
adheren  
my, rou  
ry when  
which w  
lord M  
body of  
and tha  
siter, un  
their old

that the proceedings of the council were not better regulated. — An alarming situation, in which to remain under the apprehension of the attacks of a formidable enemy.

But while these things were passing in Ireland, the lord Dundee was not idle in promoting his master's cause in Scotland;—a convention having been called in the capital of that country, once so submissive, it was agreed after some debates to close with the prince of Orange. Dundee (and the duke of Gordon who held the castle of Edinburgh for James, influenced by him) disturbed the proceedings of this assembly as much as possible. Whereupon they raged violently, and even proclaimed the latter a traitor under the walls of his castle. Then Dundee urged him to fire upon the town, but not being able to persuade him to any violent measures, taking occasion from some personal affronts he had received, he himself withdrew with a party of horse, in order, as he said, to go "wherever the spirit of the great Montrose should direct him," and firmly resolved to light such a flame of war amidst the barren hills of the north, as might spread terror and destruction over all the country.

It was in this situation of things, that this gallant nobleman pressed his master to embark for Scotland, an influence which he declined; but sent a promise of aid to his faithful adherents; who proceeded still increasing his army, rousing the highlanders to arms, and every where dispersing or over-awing the militia which was gathering together against him. The lord Murray son of lord Athol having raised a body of a thousand men upon his father's estate, and that of lord Lovat, who was married to his sister, under a promise of using their services for their old master, but in reality with an intent to decoy

coy them to the assistance of the new king; while Murray was reviewing these recruits, they suddenly quitted their posts, filled their banners with water from a neighbouring stream, drank to king James's health, and, with pipes playing, deserted to the lord Dundee, who was the idol of their countrymen.

In order to crush this great captain, general Mackay was sent after him with a strong body of troops, whom his adversary had orders not to engage, till he should receive assistance from Ireland, which after long waiting for at last arrived; but were neither in number or quality such as he had been encouraged to expect.— However Mackay advancing towards the pass of Killikranky, which was a road between high mountains. Dundee being resolved to fight him, abandoned that advantageous post, and partly to encourage his highlanders by the boldness of the resolution, and partly to render the defeat of his enemies, if it should take place, more complete; he suffered them to march through the strait without opposition; and afterwards delayed coming to a battle till about half an hour before sunset; when, placing all his strength in the wings of his army, rushing down from the hills, he charged those of the enemy with such fury that their extended lines were forced to give way before his heavy columns; and thus almost all missiles being useless, the highlanders with their broad swords falling in pell-mell upon their enemies soon put them to a shameful rout; only one regiment and the half of another retreating in good order, the rest of the army abandoning themselves to flight, which would little have availed them, incumbered as they were in the straits, if the gallant Dundee, having outgone his regiments in pursuit of the fugitives, had not been mortally wounded

mortally wounded with a musket ball, as he was exciting his men to prevent them from escaping. Fainting and falling from his horse, when he recovered, he asked, "How things were?" Being told, "All was well," "Then (said he) I am well!" and immediately expired.

This battle cost his enemies two thousand men killed, and five hundred wounded; the rest dispersed of their own accord, and Mackay himself was only saved by taking a way through the mountains, which lay to the westward of the pass, while the highlanders were employed in plundering the baggage of the English army,—

William, who had so long neglected Ireland, now turned his views in earnest towards the reduction of that country. He caused twenty-three new regiments to be raised in England, joining them with two battalions of Dutchmen and four of French refugees, which, together with some regiments from Scotland, and a body of six thousand mercenary Danes, he resolved to send over to oppose James, under the conduct of mareschal Schomberg, to whom count Solmes was second in command.

But when the former was arrived at Chester, he found scarcely any thing in the order he expected: some of the regiments were not come up, others were ill disposed to a regular command, and many consisted of such as had not the least idea of a proper use of their weapons. There was not a sufficient number of vessels got ready to transport the soldiers, nor was due care taken relative to the quantity and quality of the cloaths and provisions necessary for such an expedition.

However, after having waited for twenty-two days at Chester, the mareschal set sail with such a force as he could well draw together, and provide for, amounting in the whole to about ten thousand men, and landing in the bay of Carrick-



Carrickfergus, on the twelfth day of August he laid siege to the place, which was garrisoned with two thousand five hundred men, and took it within four days.

From Carrickfergus he proceeded to march his army to Dundalk, near which place, when they had arrived, after experiencing much hardship in a rainy season and a deserted country, he resolved to halt there, and waited for ten days in expectation of the remainder of the army levied in England, joining or at least of his receiving some supplies of men, money, or provisions from Scotland or Denmark.

When mareschal Rosen, who had assembled the Irish forces at Drogheda, heard that Schomberg had stopped, he said, "Then he was sure the mareschal wanted Schomberg, and being then within six miles of Dundalk, he ordered his troops to quit their stations and garrisons, and advance towards that place; whereupon Schomberg, being apprehensive of an attack, intrenched himself in an advantageous situation, from whence he was resolved no art of the enemy should draw him to combat in the open field.

He had indeed, by these means, provided for the security of his army against the danger of an unequal fight; but there was another danger which he could not so easily guard against: cooped up within the limits of their camp, devoid of exercise, and much incommoded by the low and damp situation of the place, sickness soon began to make havoc amongst them, which was increased by the reception of some troops from the infected town of Londonderry, who brought those miseries with them to their friends which they had a little before incurred by an obstinate opposition to their enemies,

The

The Irish, in the mean time, who having hitherto been encamped on the neighbouring hills, and had the country at command, were not annoyed with these inconveniencies, attempted by all possible means to bring Schomberg to an engagement, but in vain; for this was what he would by no means hazard, notwithstanding the reproaches of the soldiers which daily reached his ears while they were lying in the camp in this unwholesome situation.

He was continually sending for help both to England and Scotland, but the few regiments which he received came but slowly, and were not complete; and when they saw to what misery they were sent, they served only to revive the murmurs of those who were there before them, till these murmurs of the whole at length seemed to subside, and settle in a fixed despondency.

The Irish army, having by this time quitted their hills, and encamped very near the English, began also to feel the same inconveniencies, and though not in so great a degree, both because they were accustomed to the climate, and because they had the country (as has been before observed) more at command.—Both armies at length, in the month of November, quitted their respective stations, to retire into winter quarters, neither of them interrupting the other in their retreat; though that of the English seemed most melancholy, whose whole camp, when they began to break it up, discovering the numbers of the sick, appeared like one common hospital, and these, when they began to be moved and separated from the rest, some to be sent to the hospital at Belfast, and others to be conveyed to England, filled the air with complaints and lamentations. This scene of the sick, the melancholy, the despairing and the dying, was shocking to human nature;

nature; for it was such a one as exhibited a lively picture of the most dreadful calamities attendant on war, and while the bravest owned they felt for others what they would scarcely acknowledge they felt for themselves, produced such a complication of horrors as made even heroes tremble.

“ When the army came to march (says Dalrymple) the soldiers observed that some of the companies had not twelve men in them. They saw the inability of many to bear the march, who, though they appeared to be in health, had lost their strength; the bloom of English youth which they had entered the camp being changed into the fallowness of old age, while they were marching over the bodies of those who the preceding day had gone before them.---Many who died on the passage had been cast upon the roads from the waggons; others had fallen off, or, unable to bear the jolting, had cast themselves down; and of those, some adjured their companions who were passing them to bear them along; and others, by the blows of soldiers and of friends, to end all their miseries. In short, out of fifteen thousand persons who at various times, entered the English camp, above eight thousand died, or afterwards expired of diseases which they had contracted in it.”

It is not difficult to conceive that people of such a disposition as the English, who are generally impatient of the least offence, should murmur loudly at the little care that had been at first taken of Ireland, and the small prospect of success that there was at present for their new master's arms in that country.- They were heard every where to complain, and soon gave William occasion to curse the violence of that party spirit which had so great a share in advancing  
him

H  
him  
king  
with  
the  
amor  
inqui  
cour  
the c  
thoug  
tical  
willin  
the a  
lish  
thwar  
ters,  
told t  
rest w  
---t  
no be  
a repu  
but a  
That  
govern  
narchy  
In vain  
his cre  
pularity  
the car  
a moti  
two mi  
ning of  
it again  
so far as  
the ma  
Nor wa  
princes  
her pre  
Vol II

him to the throne.---About the same time the king forming a vain scheme to unite the dissenters with the established church of England, disobliged the clergy, and thereby increased the ferments among the people. Old grievances were now inquired into, new measures investigated, and the court found itself not a little perplexed between the different factions of whigs and tories, who, though perfectly opposite in most of their political principles, yet both alike dissatisfied, seemed willingly to concur in endeavouring to mortify the administration. Amongst the rest, the English parliament seemed particularly resolved to thwart the king in what related to money matters, and now grown impatient, he plainly told them, "That he perceived the public interest was lost in the private passions of party, —that a king without a revenue for life was no better than a pageant of state; the rulers of a republic indeed might be poor, yet honoured, but a prince to be respected, must be rich. — That there were gradations in the qualities of governments, but the worst of all was a monarchy dependant for subsistence on its subjects." In vain did he urge all this, and when some of his creatures, who thought they had gained popularity by adopting the measure of committing the care of the Irish service to parliament, made a motion for a day to consider how to raise two millions that had been voted at the beginning of the session, the majority of votes carried it against them, and they even mortified their king so far as to appoint a committee to examine into the management of his private finances. — Nor was he without his troubles on the princess Anne's account, who having postponed her pretensions to the throne in his favour,

Vol II. U thought



thought much was due from her for a sacrifice which William was inwardly fretted she ever had it in her power to make a merit of. She had generally a powerful party. There had been repeated complaints of her highness's having had no settled revenue allowed her; more careful for her ease than for that of her brother-in-law, the commons at last addressed him to settle fifty thousand pounds *per annum* upon her, out of a revenue which he found was not fully sufficient to answer his own purposes, and which was only confirmed to him from year to year, by the mere bounty of the people.

At length, distracted between Whigs and Tories, the king formed the resolution (upon some recent advances) of closing with the latter, and then setting off for Ireland, to leave the queen as regent to manage them herself, for whom he judged they entertained a certain respect on account of her alliance to their former favourite kings.

There were those who wished to disappoint this scheme of William's, but he anticipated their design suddenly by proroguing the parliament, and then in a few days dissolved it, which at once prevented the dreaded opposition. Then taking all manner of measures for conciliating the affections of his new friends, the Tories, by putting many of them into places of trust and profit, and disgracing many of the other party, of whom though they had raised him to the throne, he began now to be beyond measure fearful and jealous; and having taken the privy seal away from lord Halifax, began to prepare every thing for his expedition to Ireland, which intention he signified to a new parliament that he afterwards called for that purpose, and which met him on the twenty-first of March.

As

As soon as this resolution was known, a dangerous conspiracy was formed by certain discontented persons, for taking advantage of the king's absence in Ireland to subdue his British territories, though, owing to a concurrence of cross events, it totally miscarried.—Whilst, on the other hand the king of France sent over a great quantity of military stores, together with five thousand of the best French troops to James; in order to prepare him to receive his rival.—In return, James indeed was to send back as many Irish troops; yet the expedient proved much to his advantage.

In the mean time, seventy-eight of the French ships, in consequence of an agreement with the English malecontents above-mentioned, appeared off the English coasts, and though the plot was discovered and frustrated, created such an alarm, that the English and Dutch fleets, under Torrington and Evertsen thought fit to seek them, and give them battle. They did so, and were defeated in a great engagement off Beachy-Head, in which a great number of the Dutch ships were burned, shattered, and ruined; the English dropping their anchors unperceived, when they found themselves worsted, their antagonists were insensibly waisted away from them by the current, and they had time to concert measures for a retreat, which saved them from destruction, and when they withdrew Tourville the French admiral pursued as far as Rye bay, and then stopped to see what effect his victory would have upon James's friends in England.

William unknowing of this defeat, yet well acquainted that the French had a naval power hovering upon the English coasts, kept all his troops together in a body, and marched on almost through the track which Schomberg had pursued before him, with a determination while things were at

such a crisis both by sea and land, to endeavour to strike some extraordinary stroke that might go near at once to decide the fate of Ireland.— But he marched on unmolested, pass after pass, being abandoned by the enemy, because James conceived it as much his interest to prolong the war as his rival knew it to be his to hasten its conclusion. The Irish therefore did not defend the strong pass of Newry, but still drawing William away from the sea, they fell back first from Dundalk, and then from Ardee, although both places had been fortified, and so continued retreating, till at length James resolved to pitch his camp on the farther side of the river Boyne, in a very strong station. On his right, a little down the river, on the other side lay Drogheda, which was garrisoned by his own troops, and on his left, upon the same side of the river with him was a deep bog. The fords of the river, which were deep and dangerous, lay in his front, the banks being rugged and bounded by old houses, behind which lay rows of hedges, and above them several small hills, and the whole commanded by the village of Dunmore, which overlooked the station. Three miles higher up the river stood the bridge of Slain; but the bog on the left lay between the camp and the bridge, and the communication between the one and the other was by a narrow track of ground at the back of the bog. Three miles behind Dunmore lay the village and pass of Dunleck, which ten men a-breast could not pass, and which consequently might favour the retreat of James's army in case of a defeat.

Dalrymple. And here he called councils of war to determine upon the sum of things, when some of the more cautious among his Irish counsellors advised him still to let his army fall back and retire behind

H  
behin  
retire  
secur  
war  
alike  
fight  
which  
engag  
to ki  
to or  
" Th  
numb  
the pa  
becom  
soon  
done,  
air of  
muniti  
time t  
the sea  
—Mor  
from a  
home i  
an incr  
treating  
could  
the gar  
advanci  
plies fr  
enemy's  
defeat  
Boyne;  
pair wh  
no want  
his ship  
cut off  
a battle  
if the

behind the Shannon.—They urged, “ That to retire was no disgrace when the retreat through security led to victory. And as the chances of war were scarcely ever so equal as to render it alike advantageous for two opposing generals to fight at one time, therefore the same motives which impelled the prince of Orange to seek an engagement, should for the same reason point out to king James that he ought to avoid coming to one as much as possible.” They observed, “ That at present William’s army was strong in numbers, and his own weak, whereas if he had the patience to wait, the contrary would presently become the case, for his antagonist’s strength would soon moulder away, as Schomberg’s army had done, while his own soldiers being used to the air of their own country, were exposed to no diminution from disease. It was known by this time that his allies, the French, were masters of the sea, and his adherents the Irish of the land.—More forces were on their way to join him from abroad, and more might also be raised at home if he pleased, while his enemies could get an increase of numbers from neither. — In retreating to the interior part of the kingdom, he could draw provisions wherever he went, from the garrisons around and behind him. But by advancing into it, the prince must lose the supplies from his fleet, and find no other in an enemy’s country. To the king, the place of the defeat was immaterial, at the Shannon or the Boyne; but the defeat that the prince might repair where he was surrounded with friends, in no want of provisions, and secure of a retreat to his ships, would be inevitable ruin if he were cut off from all these. Even without risking a battle at all, the war might be ended; because if the French fleet should destroy the ships which



attended the prince, and block up the channel between England and Ireland, his army must fall, and fall almost without a blow.

On the other hand the impatient spirits of his army urged, "That to fly was to be conquered in effect. That to abandon his capital, was to give up the kingdom, that his subjects would be terrified to see their sovereign in arms disputing the field with them, but would pursue him with scorn if he fled; and finally that it became his name and reputation in arms to set all upon the first great cast which offered itself, which would be most likely to turn up in his favour, since the conscience of the usurper, and the fears with which the king's boldness would naturally strike him, must militate in favour of the former, and could not fail to contribute effectually to the latter's defeat.

Nothing could be more absurd than the whole chain of reasoning of these people who were so eager for an engagement; but as these arguments are generally most apt to persuade which are addressed to the passions of men, and soothe them in their vanities, so these prevailed with James who had a high notion of the sacred majesty of hereditary monarchs, and doubted not but his presence would strike his subjects with terror in Ireland, forgetting with what mortifying contempt some of these very subjects had treated him when in England.—

It is true he had for some time before fluctuated between different opinions, and at one time had even resolved to transport himself to France, at another to retire with his army; but now when he saw his antagonist advanced as it were to brave him, and posted in full view on the other side of the river, his pride got the better; and

and joined to his impatience for the great event, determined him to engage the enemy.

In the mean time an affair happened which had gone near to have gained him an almost bloodless victory. William riding along by the side of the river Boyne, conspicuous in the sight of both armies, having reconnoitred the enemy, sat down on the ground to take notes of what he had seen. This the enemy observing, sent a body of horse into the opposite field with pieces concealed in their center, which they dropped unnoticed behind a hedge as they marched along. As soon as he mounted they were discharged, by which means one of his followers was slain, and he himself being wounded, was supposed by the enemy to have shared the same fate. They shouted aloud for joy, they drew down their forces to the river as if they would instantly pass it, and attack the English in their confusion, the report of this prince's death being spread from man to man, and before it could be contradicted, reached France, where the utmost joy was expressed, the guns of the bastile fired, and illuminations and bonfires made upon the occasion. But the wound not proving of consequence, as given only by the rebound of a ball from the earth, which grazed his shoulder, William having got it dressed, immediately mounted his horse again, and rode through his camp to shew himself, and to encourage his soldiers.

Concluding from the news he was daily receiving from England that there was an absolute necessity for his fighting, and as some of James's artillery were removed, fearing that prince might prevent him by a retreat, William declared his resolution to force the passage of the Boyne next morning; and, without calling a council of war, as is usual on such occasions, he sent all his of-

ficers their orders to their tents, a message which was not a little displeasing to many of them, and among the rest, to the great Schomberg.

—Nevertheless his master certainly acted with great propriety on this occasion. There are times when a man's judgement being fully convinced what mode of action he ought to pursue, demanding advice but trifling. Such was now the case with this prince, who besides dreading that the English spirit of party might even intrude itself into his council at this important crisis, and not chusing to make a distinction of nations, adopted this method, in order at once to put an end to all disputes, knowing that if he conquered all his measures would meet with applause, and consequently this among the rest, and that even if he was vanquished, to such troops as he commanded, his ardour for the fight would even make an apology for any singularity in his conduct, when it was too late by debating to recede what was passed.

Thus resolved, about six o'clock the next morning, all things being disposed for the battle, William ordered the river to be passed in different places. General Douglas, young Schomberg, the earl of Portland and Overkirk marching to Slane bridge, passed without any great opposition.—But when they reached the farther side, they found the enemy, horse and foot, drawn up in two lines, with a morass in their front, which for the present checked the progress of the assailants. However, a reinforcement arriving, the English foot were led on to the charge through the morass, while count Schomberg took a circuit, to flank them with his horse. On perceiving his disposition, the Irish turned and retreated towards Dundalk, Schomberg following, and harrassing them. But James's left wing be-  
ing

ing reinforced from his center, Schomberg was pressed hard, and himself obliged to send for aid. — In the mean time William's main body consisting of the Dutch guards, some battalions of English, and the French regiments passed the river, which was as high as their waists, an attempt that would have been much more difficult, if James had not removed his cannon, and if the Irish had not prevented his lining some breast-works he had thrown up with French troops, declaring they would fire upon those Frenchmen, or any others that should presume to take the post of honour from them. This was a fatal piece of disobedience, and a cruel insult upon one in their king's situation.—Had those French troops, to the number of five thousand occupied the front, accustomed as they were to works of defence, and every way better skilled in the military art than the Irish, the English army would probably either have been baffled in their attempt of forcing a passage over the river, or have sustained such loss in atchieving it as must have greatly diminished their strength when they came to form upon the opposite shore.— But as it was, the French being posted behind the little hills in the rear, and no cannon placed where it could annoy William's troops, the latter made good their landing, being interrupted only by a discharge of musquetry from the Irish behind the hedges, which was confusedly made, given too early, and so ill directed that it did them little damage; and then those who had made it forgot their boast to their allies abandoned the post of honour, wherein they had been so strenuous to be placed, and abandoned first the breastworks and houses, and afterwards the hedges. — Whereupon many of William's battallions framed



framed themselves without any material opposition. But before the rest could come up to support them, Hamilton charged desperately upon them with his Irish horse, and at the same time those French troops, whom the infatuation of the Irish would not suffer to be placed in the front of the battle, rose from behind the hills, and advancing to support him, gave a present turn to the battle. William's centre was hereby thrown into disorder. The Dutch stood check'd, and the French Protestants were instantly broken, and on the point of betaking themselves to flight, which the Danish mercenaries being the least concerned of any in the event of the day, did without ceremony; and plunged into the river, whither part of Hamilton's dragoon's followed them. — Callimotte, the commander of the French Protestants was presently trod under foot by the victorious enemy, while Schomberg making a vain effort to relieve his old companion, had the mortification to see him carried off wounded to death, while he himself was endeavouring to rally the fugitives was surrounded by Hamilton's soldiers, who with a most undaunted bravery, which withered all opposition, again broke through the enemy they had formerly routed, and surrounding the general, would have taken him prisoner, but that his friends saved him the trouble by shooting him on the spot:—and in this quarter all went in favour of the Irish, who were now preparing to charge the enemies centre, and finish the battle by one vigorous effort, when William who had passed over with the left wing, appeared ready to attack them in flank, which being an unexpected danger, threw the victors into a consternation that spreading from man to man, entirely dispirited a people soon elevated

H  
vated  
to re  
more  
and  
mand  
coura  
a ge  
lowed  
Nor  
than  
brave  
grace  
flying  
greate  
the h  
taken  
immed  
of thi  
that a  
give w  
of it  
with  
yet fig  
to retir  
and af  
William  
his life  
the bat  
for an  
put a  
ing, th  
chief w  
was br  
“ Whe  
tinue th  
ner nat  
nour I

vated and too soon depressed, and occasioned them to retire towards Dunnmore, where they once more made such a stand as baffled their pursuers, and made even those troops that William commanded to recoil. Even the Inniskillingers, whose courage was so much boasted of, gave way, and a general rout of that wing would have followed, if fresh succours had not come up.— Nor had these preserved their friends, otherwise than by covering their retreat, but that the brave Hamilton, who could not brook the disgrace the Irish infantry ensured to themselves by flying before William, charging again with the greatest impetuosity, but too little caution, at the head of his dragoons, was wounded and taken prisoner by the English, who carried him immediately before their king. The assistance of this great captain was of such consequence, that as soon as he was taken, the Irish began to give way on all sides, and James being informed of it made a precipitate retreat from Dunmore with his principal officers, while his army was yet fighting, leaving orders for his troops first to retire, in order to defend the pass of Dunleck, and afterwards to fall back to the Shannon.— William had once more escaped narrowly with his life during this action; for in the heat of the battle one of his own dragoons mistaking him for an enemy, came up suddenly to him, and put a pistol to his head, but his master speaking, the fellow knew his voice, and so the mischief was prevented.— When general Hamilton was brought before this prince,—being asked, “Whether he thought the Irish army would continue the engagement,”—he answered, in a manner natural to a gallant soldier, “Upon my honour I believe they will, as they have still a good

good body of horse entire." On which William turning with disdain, exclaimed, "*Your honour! Your honour!*"—Alluding to Hamilton's having deceived him when he was weak enough to send him to persuade Tyrconnel to give up Ireland, and that officer revering his former master, persuaded him to a contrary conduct.

In this field on the side of James fell the lords of Dongan and Carlingford, Sir Neal O'Neal, the marquis of Hocquencourt, and about fifteen hundred men; on that of James, as mentioned above, the famous mareschal Schomberg, and Caillemotte, together with Walker the clergyman, who had defended Londonderry, and who not contented with a handsome reward from his master, and a promise of future preferment, with a spirit more becoming a soldier than an ecclesiastic, had attended the battle of the Boyne, where he was shot in the belly, and died in a few minutes, a victim to his own insatiable thirst of war. When William heard of the death of the last mentioned person, he very pertinently exclaimed, "Fool that he was! what had he to do there." A very sensible speech, and which marked at once the penetration of him who used it, and pointed out the impropriety of men's seeking for fame in stations where it is not allotted for them.—About five hundred Englishmen were slain in the engagement.

After this defeat James seemed to have lost all spirit and all conduct. Though, as has been observed already, not more than fifteen hundred of his men fell in the battle; though he might have found means easily to have repaired his loss, and still kept in the field in a country entirely devoted to him; yet he thought of nothing but retiring, and coming first to Dublin, and next to Waterford, breaking down all the bridges be-

hind

hind h  
his flig  
ed his  
his re  
hand.  
the Fo  
which  
ders to  
such a  
courage  
was de  
he mig  
land m  
war; b  
cipitated  
buoyed  
ters, as  
cess at  
ply wit  
sage me  
burn an  
coasts o  
absurdit  
upon th  
him to  
son. W  
he had  
hearing  
that the  
the grea  
himself  
James w  
though s  
After  
king and  
cases, ha  
to the m  
said, "

hind him, prepared to embark for France. In his flight indeed, he received letters that rendered his design more plausible; but he had formed his resolution before these dispatches came to hand. They served to acquaint him that Louis the Fourteenth had obtained a victory at Flerus, which enabled him to draw garrisons from Flanders to the coast; and that his fleet had taken such a station as prevented his enemies from succouring each other;—on this account king James was desired to embark for France directly, that he might be landed in England with thirty thousand men, and leave his generals to *protract* the war; but that unfortunate prince had already *precipitated* it. However his spirits were as much buoyed up by the news contained in these letters, as they had been depressed by his ill success at the Boyne. He made great haste to comply with the contents of them, and in his passage meeting with a fleet of frigates destined to burn and destroy William's shipping upon the coasts of Ireland, — heaping absurdity upon absurdity, — he prevented them from going upon that service, and took them along with him to France, for a safeguard to his person. When he came thither, Louis finding that he had brought back these vessels with him; hearing that he was defeated, and being informed that the conspiracy in England was crushed,—to the great disappointment of his friend, excused himself from his promise, and would not trust James with his shipping, even without an army, though strongly solicited to do so.

After the loss of the battle of the Boyne, the king and his Irish subjects, as is usual in such cases, had accused each other of being accessory to the misfortune.—The king on his part had said, “ That he would never more trust his fate



to an Irish army."—While the army on their side observed,—"That complaints of cowardice came ill from the mouth of one that had been seen to fly from the battle, and the only person not of foreign birth, who had fled from the kingdom." Adding, "That if the English would change kings with them, they would fight the battle over again."—There was too much of acrimony in the observations of both; however, the latter as most true was most cutting. The Irish had shewn some signs of *disobedience*, and want of discipline, but it would have been difficult to prove that they had shewn any of *cowardice* in the action.

After all William's boast of this victory, he did not find it easy to improve it. Hitherto he had depended on his fleet as he advanced farther in the country, if to the interior part, he must deny himself the benefit of supplies, and leave his ships exposed to the insults of the French, who were masters of the seas; and if he marched along the sea-side, then he feared that he should give the enemy time to draw their forces together again.

—He had taken Drogheda (Tredagh) immediately after the battle, having threatened the garrison if they did not surrender immediately, in imitation of the barbarous policy of Cromwell, to put them all to the sword. He now resolved to advance south along the coast, at the same time that he sent general Douglas with all his cavalry to pursue the Irish, and harass them in their retreat. Wexford, Waterford, and Duncannon fort were taken in consequence of these dispositions, and soon hearing the French fleet was upon the coast of England, he prepared to quit Ireland, till, at length, he was informed that their vessels were drawn off having only offered some

some  
After  
the fo  
was jo  
nothing  
unsucc

Will  
possible  
ment a  
day of  
Boissel  
the dul  
under h  
"That

good o  
obtain  
commit  
less boi  
holding  
summon  
at the e  
terms h

It wa  
menced  
convoy  
siege, wa  
issued ou  
the Shan  
convoy,  
powder,  
tion, and  
came, be  
interrupt

Yet W  
siege, tho  
length a  
formed.  
ed the c

some insignificant insults, and burned Tinmouth. After this he advanced to Limerick, round which the forces of the Irish were gathered, where he was joined by general Douglas, who had effected nothing in his pursuit, though he had made an unsuccessful attempt upon Athlone.

William being resolved to reduce Limerick, if possible this campaign, called in all his detachment advancing towards the town on the ninth day of August, summoned it to surrender. One Boisseleau, a Frenchman, was the governor, and the duke of Berwick and colonel Sarsfield acted under him. To the summons, Boisseleau replied, "That he wished to gain the prince of Orange's good opinion, and knew no method so likely to obtain it for him as to defend well the post committed to his charge;"—A gallant answer, but less boisterous than that of colonel Grace, who holding Athlone for king James, when it was summoned to surrender by Douglas, fired a pistol at the enemy, and told him, "Those were the terms he would treat on."

It was but three days after the siege commenced that Sarsfield having intelligence that a convoy with artillery and other necessities for a siege, was on its way to join the English army, issued out of the town by a secret way, passed the Shannon in the night, and intercepting the convoy, spiked up the cannon, blew up the powder, destroyed all the rest of the ammunition, and retreated in safety by the same way he came, before it was possible for the besiegers to interrupt him.

Yet William was resolved still to carry on the siege, though under these unlucky auspices, and at length a breach being made, he ordered it to be stormed. The troops accordingly advanced carried the counterscarp and mounted the breach, and

but the garrison emulous to do something equal to the achievements of the protestants of Londonderry, quickly shewed the besiegers that to reduce the town was no such easy matter as they might imagine. The women likewise joined their efforts to those of the men, and notwithstanding a violent assault upon the breach, the garrison rallying repulsed the English with great slaughter, after a contest of three hours during which time the Irish army, which lay in the country behind, continually poured in succours, which much contributed to the fortune of the day. Five hundred men slain and a thousand wounded made up the loss, which the English sustained in this unsuccessful attempt, that of their auxiliaries was nearly as great; which so much disheartened their troops that William was obliged to raise the siege on the tenth day of August, and upon the same day he set off for England, leaving the command to count Solmes, who likewise quitting the army soon after, it devolved upon general Ginkel, who was destined to finish the civil war in Ireland. From this misfortune as well as some other circumstances of the like nature, the enemies of the new king took occasion to make an observation, "That he never undertook a siege which he was not obliged to raise, and never fought a battle where he gained a clear victory, only one excepted, and that was against his own subjects."

But though the Irish had preserved Limerick against all the efforts of the whole English army, with William at their head, yet they lost Cork and Kinsale to the lord (afterwards duke) of Marlborough, who was intrusted with a body of five thousand British troops, and being joined by the duke of Wirtemberg with four thousand Danes, went

over

H  
over  
those  
The  
ened  
auxil  
them,  
likely  
reign  
sioned  
despai  
bles o  
best t  
then t  
But V  
lately  
" the  
every  
posed  
was th  
er, to  
himself  
manner  
the mi  
almost  
Besides  
look up  
fighting  
lemnly  
one to  
oath or  
now ind  
selves u  
despair  
and wh  
of peace  
wick, w  
tempted  
Vol. I

over to Ireland, also made himself master of both those places before winter.

The Irish reduced by these losses, and weakened by the differences between them and their auxiliaries the French, began now to foresee in them, the fate of the kingdom, which seemed likely to be precipitated by the retreat of the foreign forces, which these very differences occasioned. And to compleat all, James, who now despaired of making any advantage of the troubles of Ireland, ordered Tyrconnel to make the best terms he could for his party there, and then to withdraw himself from the country.—But William having in an amnesty that he had lately issued, excepted from the general pardon, “the desperate leaders of the rebellion;” almost every person of any note or consideration supposed himself included in that definition, and was therefore resolved to the utmost of his power, to prevent a peace to which he supposed he himself should fall a sacrifice;—and thus by the manner in which these suppositions wrought upon the minds of the principal people, he might almost as well have excepted the whole nation. Besides this, the Irish could never be brought to look upon themselves as rebels while they were fighting for the cause of a prince who had solemnly been proclaimed their king, and against one to whom very few of them had taken any oath or given any promise of allegiance.—But now indeed they seemed inclined to include themselves under that title, by the behaviour which despair reduced them to adopt: deserted by James, and when they would not come into measures of peace by Tyrconnel also; the duke of Berwick, who remained amongst them, in vain attempted to bring them into order. Some of them



could not help reflecting, "That they were now going to be sacrificed by James as before they had been by Charles, who withdrew his authority from them, when they were reduced to distress, and abandoned them to suffer for his cause when he no longer thought it his interest to support him; that loyal as they were, it was not the first time they had been abandoned by a Stuart; but that though king James had taxed them with cowardice, yet he should still see they could fight for themselves, and in spite of their present low condition, either insure victory, obtain an honourable peace, or die with their arms in their hands." This was the language of *some*, "That they would find their own resources, and trust to them alone," was the determination of all; upon which the duke of Berwick finding himself uneasily situated, made haste to return to France, leaving the command of the forces to Sarsfield.

This was the general that had defeated William's attempt upon Limerick; which success had raised his reputation high in the eyes of his countrymen. Having besides been attainted, his revenge and interest now went hand and hand, and, joining to both a soldier's thirst of military glory, he resolved to contribute every thing in his power to encourage the Irish to a vigorous resistance of their enemies, and was accordingly every where active amongst them.

But whilst the soldiers in both armies were well enough disposed for action, the people on both sides experienced unspeakable miseries. The troops dispersing into winter quarters every where preyed on the country. The neglect of agriculture in most places rendered that country unable to support them. The French on the side of the Irish  
and

H I  
and t  
confid  
did c  
try, a  
pine a  
these  
the lo  
comm  
only f  
dwelling  
to lab  
tinuall  
and f  
their a  
the dif  
employ  
But th  
use in  
of war  
manity  
tion be  
indiscri  
to be g  
in unfr  
their n  
could i  
pons a  
the loc  
hiding  
in the  
them at  
uncomm  
plunder  
defeat v  
burned,  
the way  
and the  
traced t

and the Danes on that of the English seemed to consider, nay the latter even avowed that they did consider themselves as in an enemy's country, and they made no scruple to subsist on rapine and plunder accordingly. To crown all these miseries, the Rapparees, who consisted of the lowest class among the Irish, now every where committed horrid depredations. These men whose only food was the potatoe-root, and whose only dwelling was a mud-built cottage, alike averse to labour and to regular arms, were yet continually hanging upon the skirts of the armies, and sometimes were insolent enough to attack their advanced posts. Yet even these men did the different parties take under protection, and employ them to harass and distress each other. But the Rapparees were seldom of any other use in such cases than to heighten the horrors of war by monstrous acts of cruelty and inhumanity. Little accustomed to observe the distinction between friends and foes, they generally fell indiscriminately upon both, wherever plunder was to be gotten. They used to meet on dark nights in unfrequented places, by appointment, to plan their mischiefs; appearing unarmed, they yet could immediately furnish themselves with weapons at a time when least expected. Carrying the locks of their musquets in their pockets, and hiding the pieces themselves closely stopped up in the neighbouring ditches, they could assume them at pleasure, and thus by the suddenness and uncommon method of attack, would not only plunder the unarmed people, but even sometimes defeat whole bodies of regular forces.—They burned, pillaged, and destroyed whatever came in the way; mercy they neither gave nor expected, and their route was scarcely any otherwise to be traced than by the fires they lighted up in the country.

country, and the cries of the wretched inhabitants.—These robbers and assassins if pursued by superior forces disappeared and fled through woods and bogs with incredible swiftness, and would sometimes even lay themselves along in muddy water, with no other parts but their mouths and nostrils above its surface, by which means they would escape the hands of their enemies, and even mock at all thoughts or attempts of pursuit. Nevertheless, we find by the accounts of history that numbers of them were taken and hanged without ceremony by the soldiers; but it was impossible by such means to extirpate such enemies, nor could all the rigour of either army be sufficient to deter them from their evil practices, or to prevent numbers of innocent persons from falling victims to their savage fury.

While things were thus situate in Ireland, William who had been terrified with a fresh plot, which narrowly escaped being put into execution, gave orders to general Ginkle to finish the Irish war at any rate. James, on his part, sent back Tyrconnel to put himself at the head of affairs, of whose power Sarsfield grew jealous; on which account Monsieur St. Ruth, a French general, and a man of great abilities, was afterwards sent over to take the command of the army, who soon perceiving the discontents that reigned among the Irish, and which his presence rather inflamed than assuaged, thought proper to keep upon the defensive, and placing his army behind Athlone, strongly garrisoned the towns on the Irish side of the Shannon, and waited patiently for the approaches of the enemy.

Ballimore being surrendered to the English, Ginkle after some other successes, advanced to Athlone, which consisted of two towns, one on the

the  
the  
and  
siege  
Eng  
the  
cup  
off t  
by  
their  
were  
river  
place  
besiege  
begin  
comm  
Gink  
lish to  
ing a  
the fo  
the br  
the br  
on acc  
when  
Irish g  
once d  
This a  
siegers  
duced,  
haste  
behind  
any saf  
two pa  
avenues  
and all  
the grea  
Failing  
the brid



the English, and the other on the Irish side of the Shannon, which were joined by a stone bridge, and by a ford a little way below it. The besiegers having made a breach, stormed it on the English side; but the enemy retreating towards the bridge, that part of the garrison which occupied the Irish town broke it down, and cut off the communication between the towns, though by so doing they occasioned the destruction of their companions, many of whom thus deserted were slain with the sword, or drowned in the river Shannon. They had besides fortified the place on their side of the water, whereby the besiegers found they had their work almost to begin again, the ford being difficult to pass, and commanded by an adjacent castle. Whereupon, Ginkle resolved to intrench himself in the English town, and in the interim to endeavour throwing a bridge of pontoons over the river below the ford, and constructing a wooden work on the bridge, in order to throw great planks over the broken arch. The former design miscarried on account of the banks not being firm; and when the latter was just brought to bear, an Irish grenade set fire to the wood work, and at once destroyed all the labours of the English. This accident occasioned great trouble in the besiegers army, for their stores being much reduced, and the general having neglected in his haste to secure a retreat, or communication behind him, there remained small prospect of any safety but in victory; so that while the two parties were thus contending, even the avenues to the city of Dublin were barricaded, and all the protestants of Ireland trembled for the great event.

Failing thus in their grand attempt of making the bridge passable, the general, on the English



side resolved at length in a council of war to force a passage at the ford. The attempt was dangerous, as this ford was stony, breast-high, and passable only to twenty men in a rank, who must be exposed to the continual fire of the enemy, nay perhaps it might have been ranked among those rash actions which are rather to be deemed subjects of astonishment than imitation, had not St. Ruth been too secure, believing the besiegers to have entirely relinquished the design, sent three of his worst regiments during that very night the council of war had been held, to relieve the over-fatigued garrison.

But this being the case, when all things were secretly prepared for the assault, a body of two thousand men was ordered to attempt the passage of the river, whilst others mounting the walls opposite to the enemy, were prepared to cover the design by keeping an incessant fire upon them. Then the English with a great shout suddenly entered the river, and after a smart dispute, made their passage good, attacked the town in several parts, and cut off the communication with St. Ruth's army, which the Irish perceiving, abandoned the place, shifting as well as possible for their safety, while those from whom they expected relief were marching too slowly to their assistance, and seeing the guns of the town now preparing to be turned against them, speedily retreated, and breaking up their camp, withdrew in great haste to Agrim.

Ginkle had received authority from William to publish a pardon for all such of the Irish as chose to take the benefit of it; but, for reasons best known to himself, the Dutchman had delayed till now to propose it. As soon as it was known, numbers who were dispirited by the late misfor-

H  
misf  
circu  
who  
plan  
land  
the  
where  
T  
he h  
num  
whom  
had  
whic  
the  
one  
left  
into  
batta  
diffic  
Agrim  
to th  
but  
space  
hedg  
and  
the  
Gin  
troop  
my  
discer  
Ruth  
in or  
himse  
ran  
swear  
deser  
to inf

misfortune, took the advantage of it, and this circumstance as well as the reproaches of those who remained, determined St. Ruth to alter his plan of a defensive war, and set the fate of Ireland upon the issue of a battle while he had yet the means left him of assembling an army wherewith to make one general effort.

To this purpose he drew together the garrisons he had stationed in the neighbouring town to the number of about twenty-five thousand men, with whom he had resolved to face the enemy. He had encamped this army on a height in a line which had extended two miles; half a mile from the front below was a bog with two passages, one of which led to the right, the other to the left of his camp. The passage on the left opened into a corn-field, in which, however, only four battalions could form a front. Farther on were difficult grounds, and the ruins of the castle of Agrim, where cannon were placed. The passage to the right opened upon ground that was wider but yet afforded not room for an army. The space between these two passages was filled with hedges and ditches which were lined with troops, and the remainder of the army was ranged upon the heights before the camp.

Ginkle having spent a week in refreshing his troops at Athlone, followed with the English army to Agrim, from whence his approach being discerned even whilst at a great distance, St. Ruth took all precautions to form his troops, in order to prepare them for his reception. He himself made a speech to animate them; the priests ran through all the ranks, causing the men to swear upon the sacrament that they would not desert their colours, and using every argument to inspire them with courage, that the love of their religion

religion, or regard for their own honour and that of their country could dictate.

This was indeed a most remarkable situation; for now once more was the fate of Ireland brought to a crisis.—Now was the fate of William and of James in that country to be determined, as well as that of the protestant and the Catholic interest. The eyes of all were upon this great event, and both parties prepared themselves accordingly.

The English army in two divisions marched to the right and left of the bog, bending towards each other with a design of flanking the enemy, and joining on the rising ground, while St. Ruth who stood upon the heights suffered them to pass the bog without interruption, intending to attack the two bodies separately, before they should be in a condition to assist each other. For this purpose, when he found the left wing of the English had advanced into the open ground, he dispatched most of his cavalry in order to strengthen his right.—On this general Mackay advised Ginkle to draw off part of his right wing to the left, and in the interim sounding the bog, and finding it not impassable, he ordered part of his troops to pass through it to the corn field on the left, and there to keep their station, without pressing upon the enemy, till he should be ready to flank them. And at the same time general Talmash marched before, in order to attack the castle of Agrim. But these troops which Mackay had ordered to remain inactive forgot the injunction, and advanced towards the line of hedges, where they were received by the Irish with a brisk fire. The latter, however, at length retired in order to draw their enemies on, and the stratagem succeeded; for



for the English eagerly pursued, till by means of the communication the Irish had made between the hedges, they found themselves surrounded, and fired upon at once in their front, flanks, and rear, while their general, who had not yet overcome the difficulties of the broken grounds, could not give them any assistance. This false step was likely to have occasioned an entire defeat of that wing; for the soldiers, thus embarrassed, were obliged to give way on all sides; some retiring with precipitation to the corn-field, whilst others even fled back through the bog.— This was a very disagreeable spectacle to the English generals, who as soon as they could dis-  
Geohagen; encumber themselves, bent all their force to that quarter, where their friends were distressed, while St. Ruth viewing from his heights the embarrassment of the enemy, threw his hat up three times into the air and shouted for joy, giving those about him the assurances of what he thought a certain victory.

But the consideration of the shame, and still more of the danger of a defeat, worked upon the English, that having surmounted the first difficulty, they not only kept their ground, but after a smart struggle advanced upon the enemy. The wary St. Ruth now finding the scene was about to change, and observing the two divisions of the enemy to the right and left gathering upon the rising grounds, resolved with all speed to prevent the junction. — Preparing therefore himself to descend with a strong body of horse from the heights, where he had hitherto remained, “Now said he will I drive the English to the very gates of Dublin.”

He had resolved to fall upon the enemy in a dangerous hollow way, through which they were obliged



obliged to pass; but in his way he was slain by a cannon-ball, which so disheartened his soldiers that they first halted and afterwards fled; nor could Sarsfield, who was second in command, when they were rallied give any succour to the army; since having been at enmity with St. Ruth, he knew nothing of that general's plans or dispositions. The whole Irish army was now divided into three bodies, neither of which knew what plan they were to act upon, while the two divisions of Ginkle's army, conducted by their generals, who still kept that uniform disposition with which they had at first set out, and which alone could procure them victory, of verging towards each other, found themselves every moment nearer attaining their end, and the body of English appointed to pass the hollow way having compassed their design, began to attack their enemies in flank, who were totally unable to prevent them; which perceiving, after a struggle that was vain, they fled with precipitation, and abandoned the field to the English, who gained a complete victory, which however they sullied by their cruelty in granting no quarter to the vanquished, who lost about seven thousand men in the action and pursuit, together with their tents, baggage, and military stores which fell into the hands of the enemy, whose loss amounted to little more than seven hundred slain in battle.

It is highly probable that the English owed this victory to the death of the French general, who though he was but ill beloved by the Irish, and had lost them Athlone, was yet a good general, as James well knew, when he sent him to take the command. Nor would even the loss of him have been attended with such fatal consequences to the Irish, if the disputes between him and

Sarsfield

H

Sars  
acqu  
After  
most  
prob  
be tr

Li

able  
thithe

kle p

which

rest, t

by th

rick,

than

up wi

like A

lish sic

other c

town,

countr

which

by wor

these t

togethe

the Iris

the bes

visions f

Gink

ner that

with lit

more di

defeat a

the stren

of the F

than by

mains of

which th

Sarsfield had not prevented the latter from being acquainted with the dispositions of the former. After all, it must be allowed that the Irish made a most gallant resistance as long as there was any probability of success, and therefore deserved to be treated as a valiant enemy.

Limerick being the only place of any considerable strength remaining in the hands of the Irish, thither the fugitives retreated, and thither Ginkle prepared to follow them, taking all the places which lay in his way, and Gallway among the rest, the garrison of which town were permitted by the articles of capitulation to retire to Limerick, where in all likelihood of more disservice than use to their countrymen that were cooped up within the limits of that place. It consisted like Athlone of two towns, one upon the English side of the river, called the Irish town, the other on an island in the river called the English town, which was also joined to the Irish side of the country by another bridge, called Thomond bridge, which on the Irish side of the river was defended by works. Almost all the Irish infantry were in these towns; excepting a few regiments, which together with fifteen hundred horse remained on the Irish side of the river, in order to prevent the besiegers from passing it, and to procure provisions for themselves.

Ginkle making his approaches in the same manner that William had done before him, met at first with little opposition, as the Irish cared not for more disputes on open ground after the recent defeat at Agrim, but resolved rather to trust to the strength of their fortifications, and the aid of the French which now they expected in vain, than by any hazards to dispirit the shattered remains of their armies. Perceiving the manner in which they intended to carry on the war, Ginkle

Ginkle drew a line of contravallation behind him, gave orders for all the English troops and their auxiliaries from every part of Ireland to join him, and for a squadron of ships then upon the coast to sail up the river, and block up the town as closely as possible. His batteries being directed at the Irish town, it was at first expected that the two armies would exhibit nearly the same spectacle as they had formerly done in Athlone, and dispute within the walls of Limerick, but the Dutch general who remembered those difficulties he had experienced in the former place, now resolved to incur no such hazards, but attacked the Irish town only because it was on the same side with himself, and because by setting it on fire he hoped the inhabitants would be induced to oblige the garrison to give it up, but finding that the soldiers drove the inhabitants from the town, and instead of extinguishing the flames, broke into the houses for plunder, he removed his batteries, and placed them opposite to the English town, from whence he might conveniently annoy the enemy.

Within the space of ten days both the towns were almost laid in ashes, by the terrible execution done by the English bombs; nevertheless the garrison still held out, in hopes either of obtaining foreign succours, or so effectually wearying out the besiegers as to oblige them to quit their attempt in the same manner that William had done the year before. Ginkle being resolved to confirm them in this expectation, pretended to raise the siege, for which reason he dismounted his cannon one evening, and feigned to decamp with a considerable part of his army, which the Irish perceiving, testified their joy with loud shouts, and acclamations; but when it was quite dark he turned suddenly towards the river, and having employed



employed workmen to throw pontoons across, he passed over about day-break, when he was least expected. In a few days afterwards he attacked and carried the works that commanded Thomond bridge, along which the Irish fled in confusion, and the English pursuing them, the draw-bridge was raised by order of the commanding officer, lest friends and enemies should both enter together, by which means above a thousand soldiers were either drowned in the river, or slain by the swords of their enemies. And yet this step of his was greatly instrumental to the loss of the town, which but for the divisions between them and their allies, as it appeared in the sequel, the Irish might still have preserved. For this officer being a Frenchman, they exclaimed, "That instead of friends, the French acted the part of enemies."—And violent complaints ensued, which alarming the foreign officers, both sides being jealous of each other, proposed to capitulate the next day; a hasty resolution, which however excusable it might have been in the garisons of other towns, was certainly a very impolitic step in them, when it was considered that at such a time on the fate of Limerick, that of all Ireland depended; as an acknowledgement of which, in the articles of capitulation, the commanders of the Irish forces in Limerick treated for the whole Irish nation, on terms which were accordingly ratified, and so by the delivery of the place, the war in Ireland was ended. A few days after the capitulation was signed, a French fleet of eighteen sail, with store of ammunition and provisions arrived on the coast, a sight which a few days before would have been most welcome to the Irish, but which now only served to overwhelm them with sorrow.

In



In the mean time William was no less employed in foreign than in domestic wars. The army of Louis the Fourteenth penetrated into Piedmont, before the Germans could prevent their design, but when they arrived the French retired. On the Rhine the German and French armies, were nearly equal to each other, for which reason they avoided coming to action; whilst in Flanders William forced mareschal Boufflers to abandon the bombardment of Liege, but in return when he quitted his army, the French defeated part of it on the way to Cambron.--The English and French fleets watched each other, and most people were uneasy at the enormous expences the nation had been at without having obtained any considerable successes in counter-balance for the sums of money, which they had so liberally granted. Yet the king believing that when Ireland was reduced, he might ask almost any thing securely of his parliament, at the end of the campaign fitted out a large fleet, and assembled sixty-five thousand land forces for the service of the ensuing year for the support of which after some delays, no less a sum than three millions and a half was granted.—There were attempts made however to procure many popular laws, one of which the king refused his assent, namely that of establishing judges in their offices for life; a concession which was liberally granted by his present majesty, even unasked; a concession by which he gave away a part of the prerogative which perhaps some less generous or less scrupulous successors of his upon the throne may in vain wish again to have possession of.

About this period an affair happened in Scotland, which fixed a great stain upon William's character, the cause and effect of which a modern

H  
dern  
acco  
“  
the y  
had  
taint  
they  
they  
Bread  
ject v  
Bread  
accep  
he ha  
any n  
furnis  
connt  
Sir T  
advant  
hearing  
ther th  
within  
der to  
the tro  
sooner  
tilities.  
the off  
settling  
secretar  
ter in  
don and  
to the  
ney was  
the duke  
pensions  
chieftain  
holding  
for war  
or abroa

modern writer gives the following circumstantial account.

“ Upon the discovery of the conspiracy, in <sup>the Massacre of Glenco,</sup> the year sixteen hundred and ninety, lord Tarbet had suggested a plot for prevailing on the attainted highlanders to lay down those arms which they had taken up under lord Dundee, and which they had never since entirely quitted. And lord Breadalbane, who had probably concerted the project with him, offered to carry it into execution. Breadalbane's offers had been the more readily accepted by the government, because it was known he had more credit with the Highlanders than any man in Scotland, and because there were surmises at the time of a French invasion in that country. But the project took not effect, because Sir Thomas Livingstone soon after gained some advantages over the Highlanders, and because, hearing that the invasion was to reach no farther than England, they kept themselves quiet within their own country in the summer, in order to save themselves from the incursions of the troops during that season. But winter was no sooner come than they re-commenced their hostilities. Upon this the lord Breadalbane renewed the offer of his service, and sent a scheme for settling the Highlands to Sir John Dalrymple, secretary of state, who was then attending his master in Flanders. The scheme was, that a pardon and twelve thousand pounds should be given to the Highlanders in arms, most of which money was to be applied to discharge the claims of the duke of Argyle upon their estates, and that pensions should be given to all the Highland chieftains in Scotland, under a condition of their holding four thousand of their people disciplined for war; and ready at a call to serve at home or abroad. Sir John Dalrymple readily adopted it,

it, and laid it before the king, who sent for lord Breadalbane to Flanders to adjust the terms, Breadalbane returned to Scotland, and brought the treaty with the attainted Highlanders near a conclusion. A proclamation was published in the autumn of sixteen hundred and ninety-one, which declared that all rebels who took the oaths to the government before the first day of January ensuing, should be pardoned.

“The duke of Hamilton in the mean time, either from envy against lord Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple, or because he believed he could make better terms for his master, sent emissaries to the Highlands to prevent the conclusion of the treaty. The Highland chieftains played a double game. They wrote to king James for his permission to make a treaty, promising that they would observe it no longer than it was for his interest, and at the same time to create jealousies in William of his servants, and among his servants themselves. They gave information to the duke of Hamilton, and to the enemies of lord Breadalbane, lord Slaine, and his son, that Breadalbane had concurred with them in the terms upon which they had asked James’s consent to the treaty. Upon this, accusations were presented to the privy council and parliament, and sent to the king against Breadalbane; and general Mackay blown up with the honour which he had acquired in his own profession in Ireland, wrote letters underhand to the king and lord Portland against lord Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple, most of which were communicated to the last of these persons. William, who was steady to the persons he trusted, received the accusations with disregard, saying, with his usual brevity, “Men who manage treaties must give fair words.”

“But

" But Breadalbane retained deep in his mind the sense of Highlanders breach of faith and of the injuries they had attempted to him. He communicated his own passion to Sir John Dalrymple, and the king had been long teased, and stopped in pursuits which he had more at heart, by the tumults of Scotland, was himself irritated. A new scheme [certainly a most infernal one] was suggested by lord Breadalbane, adopted by the secretary; and assented to by the king for cutting off all the Highlanders who should not take the oaths to the new government within the time prescribed by the proclamation. The mode of execution was intended to be, by what were called in Scotland, letters of fire and sword, an inhuman but a legal weapon (says my author) in the law of that country against attainted rebels (though how they could be properly styled so while James yet lived. is hard for either politicians or casuists to account for) The order was sent down to the privy council, which, without remonstrating against it, appointed a committee to carry it into execution; and ordered money, a ship, and other military preparations for that purpose. Breadalbane, Tarbet, and Argyle, had privately agreed to give their assistance if necessary. The king's troops were properly posted.— The marquis of Athol, who by means of general Mackay had for some time been paying court to the new government, had an hundred men ready; and there is reason to believe that some of these lords were flattered with the prospect of part of the rebels estates. It is probable that some of the privy council gave warning to the Highlanders of their danger, for all the attainted chieftains, with the people, took the oaths before the time prefixed, except one—that one was Mac Donald of Glenco.

Vol. II.

Y

Glenco

" But



“ Glenco and all his clan were peculiarly obnoxious to lord Breadalbane, because there had been frequent wars between their families. *And Sir John Dalrymple thought that mercy would be thrown away upon them,* because they had been in the irreclaimable habit of making incursions into the low countries for plunder, and because he himself obtained a pardon for them from king William, when one of the tribe having discovered his accomplices in a crime, the rest had tied him to a tree, and every man of the tribe had stabbed him with a durk (or dagger) Glenco, the chieftain, giving the first blow.

“ Glenco went upon the last day of December to fort William, and desired the oaths to be tendered to him by the governor of the fortress, but as that officer was not a civil magistrate he refused to administer the oaths. Glenco then went to Inverary, the county-town, to take them before the sheriff of the county; but by bad weather was prevented from reaching it until a few days after the term prescribed by the proclamation was elapsed. The sheriff scrupled at first, but was prevailed upon at last to receive his allegiance. Advantage was taken of Glenco's not having complied literally with the terms of the proclamation, and a warrant for proceeding to execution was procured from the king, which was signed both above and below with his own hand.

“ This warrant was executed with many circumstances of extreme rigour. Sir John Dalrymple gave orders that the execution should be effectual, and without any previous warning.—For this purpose, in the month of February, two companies went, not as enemies but as friends, to take quarters in the valley of Glenco, where all the clan lived.—To conceal the intention

the

the better, the soldiers were of their own lineage, Highlanders of lord Argyle's regiment, and the commanding officer, captain Campbell of Glenglyon was uncle to the wife of one of Glenco's sons. All were received with the rude but kind hospitality of the country. They continued in the valley near a fortnight, and then in the night time rose to butcher their hosts. Captain Campbell had supped and played at cards with Glenco's family the evening before. Thirty-eight men were slain. The rest would have shared the same fate, had not the alarm been given by one of Glenco's sons, who overheard one of the soldiers say to another, "He liked not the work; he feared not to fight the Mac Donalds in the field, but had scarcely courage to kill them in their sleep; but their officers were answerable for the deed, not they."

The sequel of this was, that the young Mac Donald, when he who overheard these things hastened with his brother to acquaint their father of the treacherous design; but they found the house already surrounded by the soldiers, who were destined to become their executioners, and heard the discharge of musquets, and the shrieks of women and children: the old chief was shot through the head in his bed, and his wife the next day died distracted. Mac Donald's guest, the lord of Auchtrinken, who had three months before made his submission to the government, and had a protection about him, was also put to death, and an innocent boy about eight years old was stabbed to the heart, by a subaltern officer, while he was imploring mercy at the feet of Campbell. Of thirty-eight persons who fell thus, the chief part were butchered in their beds, with shocking circumstances of barbarity. Two hundred

victims had been devoted by the government; but of these about one hundred and sixty escaped (by the detachments not arriving timely enough to secure the passes) who fled from this valley of tears \* carrying with them an irreconcilable hatred to the new government, which was said to be remembered by their posterity even so late as the late rebellion, when some of the pretender's men objecting to the carnage the Highlanders made after one of their victories, was checked by an officer, who is said to have bade him "Remember Glenco, and then he would wonder no longer that they gave no quarter."

The massacre being finished, Campbell suffered all the cattle and other effects of the Glenco family to be plundered, and ordered all the houses to be burned and razed to the ground, after which he left the widows and orphans of those he had murdered without shelter, cloaths, or food in the midst of the snow, which at that time covered the country, at the distance of six miles from any inhabited place, immersed in darkness, and every moment dreading that fate from the swords of their enemies, which many of them met with from cold, hunger and fatigue, before they could light on any who would meet with any who would yield them any kind of consolation or assistance in this their most dreadful situation.

William, under whose auspices this treachery been acted, finding his name every where execrated for the barbarity, and himself compared to the most bloody tyrants recorded in history, hearing that an account of the affair had been published even with exaggerations at Paris, and observing

\* Which was the interpretation of the name their place of abode was in the Celtic language.

observing the horror it excited amongst his own subjects, and even amongst the Jacobite Highlanders, was more likely to hurt his interest upon the whole than to serve it, this prince pretended to set on foot an enquiry concerning the authors of the massacre, which he now thought it would be most proper for him to disavow, by saying that he had signed the order (which he knew was ready to be produced) amongst a heap of other papers, without being acquainted with its contents;—a weak excuse, the futility of which sufficiently appeared by his actions; for though he dismissed the master of Stair from his employment of secretary, and made some bustle in the affair amongst others, yet he never brought the perpetrators of this wickedness to condign punishment, as certainly he would have done for the sake of his own honour and character, if he had not been himself too deeply concerned in the iniquity, and seriously consented to this infamous scheme of assassination.

And though, my author observes, that letters Dalrymple of fire and sword were a legal weapon in the constitution of Scotland, yet certainly it was inexcusable in a prince who had come to the throne upon such terms as William had done, and who professed himself the scourge of tyranny and oppression, to make use of such a weapon, and to establish his reign over any part of his kingdom in the blood of his unresisting subjects. If it be thought that I have dwelt too long upon this subject, as belonging rather to the history of Scotland than of Ireland, I must observe, That as the contests of James and William form a great part of the latter history at this period, to any event of moment that can strongly mark the portraits of these princes who contended for dominion in Ireland, as in a thea-



tre cannot with justice be deemed improperly mentioned in a work of this nature, any more than an account of a fresh conspiracy for setting the exiled king upon the throne again, to which the principal heads both of the whigs and tories were concerned, and which once more shook the throne of the new-raised monarch.---

But before we proceed to this account we shall take notice that the Irish protestants in general were much dissatisfied with the terms granted by Ginkle to their enemies. They complained that they who had suffered for their loyalty to William were disregarded, and obliged to sit down with loss, while their enemies were not only pardoned but even indulged; since they were dismissed with the honours of war, and permitted to transport themselves into foreign countries.--- Even the Rapparees, who were a set of banditti, were honourably provided for, because they had engaged in support of James at the latter end of the war.

These articles had indeed been more favourable to the Irish catholics than most of the opposite party expected, but it is no wonder that William having so many other affairs on his hands should be willing to put an end to a war that cost the English nation such vast sums of money, and which, notwithstanding the present bad condition of the Irish, might yet have been renewed with vigour, if the French had again heartily engaged in their cause. The event proved that he was right, for had not favourable terms been granted, it is likely that the arrival of the French squadron would have been the means of raising the siege of Limerick, and giving fresh life and vigour to king James's party in Ireland.

The military articles which were twenty-nine in number provided for the garrison's enjoying the honours

honours of war, for the free permission of such of the Irish and French as chose to transport themselves beyond the seas; for the providing of vessels; for the exchanging of prisoners, and the rendering hostages for the performance of those articles; for the dispatching intelligence to France of the surrender of the city; for the intrenchment of both armies after the said surrender, to prevent any disorder which otherwise might arise; for the rendering up forts, and settling the affairs of magazines and prisoners on both sides; and for the advertising the English and French commanders by sea and land of the conclusion of this treaty, between whom also an immediate cessation of arms was to take place.---Such was the chief substance of the military articles. To the civil ones which were more remarkable, we shall give a place at full length in this history, they are as follows :

The civil articles of Limerick agreed upon, the third day of October, one thousand six hundred and ninety-one, between the right honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Coningsby, Esq; lords justices of Ireland; and his excellency the baron de Ginkle, lieutenant general and commander in chief of the English army, on the one part, and the right honourable Patrick, earl of Lucan, Piercy, viscount Gallmoy, colonel Nicholas Purcel, colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, colonel Garret Dillon, and colonel John Brown, on the other part, in the behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, and other agreements made between the lord lieutenant, general Ginkle, the governor of the city of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork, Sligoe, and Mago.

In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents for the surrender of the said city, and submission of the said army: it is agreed, That,

Article I. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of king Charles the Second. And their majesties as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such farther security in that particular, as may preserve them from any disturbance, upon the account of their said religion.

Article II. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers now in arms under any commission of king James, or those authorised by him, to grant the same in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesties quarters that belong to the Irish regiments now in being, that are treated with, and who are not prisoners of war, or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties obedience, and their own and every of their heirs, shall hold, possess, and enjoy all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges, and immunities which they and every or any of them hold, enjoy, or were rightful and lawfully entitled to in the reign of king Charles II. or any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the said reign of king Charles II. and shall be

be put in possession, by order of the government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein, and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rent, quit -rent, and other public charges incurred, and become due since Michaelmas, sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, to the day of the date hereof. And all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them or any of them belonging and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any persons whatever, in trust for, or for the use of them, or any of them. And all and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective profession, trade, or callings as freely as they did use, exercise and enjoy the same in the reign of king Charles the Second, provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to or restore any forfeited person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised.--- Provided also, That no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article that shall neglect or refuse to take the oaths of allegiance, made by act of parliament in England, in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

Article III. All merchants, or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond sea, that have not borne arms since their majesties declaration in February sixteen hundred and eighty-eight, shall have the benefit



nefit of the second article in the same manner as if they were present, provided such merchants and reputed merchants do repair into this kingdom, within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

Article IV. The following officers, viz. colonel Simon Lutterell, captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article, provided they return within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties government, and take the above-mentioned oath.

Article V. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third articles shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treasons, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanors whatsoever, by them or any of them, committed since the beginning of the reign of James the Second; and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords justices and general will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed, *gratis*, all but writing clerks fees.

Article VI. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violence on both parts, and that if leave were given to the bringing all sorts of private actions, the animosities would probably continue that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbance lost. For the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniencies which would be  
the

the necessary consequences of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, horses, money, goods, chattles, merchandises, or provisions whatsoever by them seized or taken during the time of the war.— And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second and third articles comprised shall be used, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents, or main rates of any lands, tenements, or houses by him or them received or enjoyed in this kingdom since the beginning of the present war to the day of the date hereof, or for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses. And it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

Article VIII. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third articles shall have liberty to ride with a sword and case of pistols if they think fit, and keep a gun in their houses for the defence of the same, or for fowling.

Article VIII. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick and other garrisons shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattles, and provisions out of the same, without being viewed and searched, or paying any manner of duties; and shall not be compelled to leave the houses they have now for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

Article IX. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their majesties government, shall be the oath above-said, and no other.

Article

Article X. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles or any of them shall thereby make or cause any other person or persons to forfeit the benefit of the same.

Article XI. The lords justices and general do promise to use their utmost endeavours that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

Article XII. Lastly the lords justices and general do undertake that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

And whereas colonel John Brown stood indebted to several protestants by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the lord Tyrconnel and lord Lucan took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts, which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish and their army. For freeing the lord Lucan of his said engagement, passed on their public account for payment of the said protestants; and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown; and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the lord Lucan and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed, That the said lords justices and the said baron de Ginkle shall intercede with the king and parliament to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics by article and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with and  
equally

equally liable to the payment of so much of the said debt, as the said lord Lucan upon stating accompts with the said John Brown shall certify under his hand, that the effects taken from the said Brown amount unto, which account is to be stated, and the ballance certified by the lord Lucan in one and twenty days after the date hereof.

For the true performance hereof, We have hereunto set our hands.

## P R E S E N T.

Scravemore,  
H. Mackay,  
T. Talmash,

Charles Porter,  
Tho. Conningsby,  
Bar. de Ginkle.

These articles were all of Ginkle's own proposing.—Of that which allowed the Irish to transport themselves beyond the seas, above fourteen thousand men took advantage, consenting for ever to leave their native land, the nurse of their early years, to pass over to other countries where they were unacquainted, and to become for ever the subjects of a foreign power, rather than to abandon the full exercise of their religion, and the interests of their exiled and unhappy sovereign.

When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hostages exchanged for their being duly executed, two thousand three hundred persons that chose to quit the kingdom, began immediately their march for Cork, from whence they intended to embark for France. Three regiments that did not chuse to quit their country, delivering up their arms, dispersed to their own habitations.---Such of them as did, who remained at Limerick embarked under convoy of the French fleet, which had arrived in the bay of Dingle, when it was too late to give them assistance.---On the arrival of the



the Irish in France, they were welcomed by a letter from king James, who expressing the greatest gratitude to them for their loyalty, gave them to understand that they should still serve under his commission and command; and acquainted them that Louis the Fourteenth had already given orders for their being new cloathed, and put into quarters of refreshment; thus endeavouring at once to sooth both himself and them for the disappointment they had met with in Ireland. While on the other hand, king William thought of nothing more than conferring marks of honour and esteem on such as he loved, and as had served him in the wars of that country; but even in this he could not help exhibiting those evident signs of partiality to foreigners, which have ever been disgusting to the English as a people; for while general Ginkle was created baron of Athlone, and Rouvigny lord Gallway, Talmash and Mackay were forgotten; a circumstance that hurt the king in the opinion of many, and perhaps upon the whole did more harm than good to those foreigners that were in his service.

Nevertheless, while William found the English in general contented with the reduction of Ireland, he was not of a temper to consider those matters; and yet his want of observation on these minuter sources of discontent often wrought both him and his people great uneasiness, and was, in effect, one of the chief sources of those troubles which disturbed his reign. It was on occasion of such matters, and of a reserve peculiar to his climate and temper that many of those who had formerly respected and flocked to the standard of the prince of Orange, now deserted or despised king William.---They said that he loved not the English nation:---That he had dis-

missed

missed from his council and commission many of those who had been the first to raise him to a throne; and that he had overturned that hierarchy in Scotland within an hour which his predecessors had for years defended; in short, that the remedy was worse than the disease; and in their hours of society they even proceeded to ridicule his form and address, and to break such malicious jests upon his person and his country, that instead of being surprised at the hazards he ran of losing his crown, one would rather wonder that a king should ever keep his seat on the throne after becoming the scorn and contempt of a great part of the very people that had invited him to take possession of it.

With regard to the conduct of the Irish at this critical period, it had been such as a discerning person would have expected from such a people. Those who affect to wonder at it, and those who stigmatise them with *names* upon this occasion are either uncandid or injudicious.—— In the beginning of the reign of the first Charles they certainly deserved the name of Rebels, because they acted against all authority, except such as themselves had set up, and in the midst of their professions of reverence to the king's prerogative and the laws of the land, they had in effect overturned both. During the latter part of the same king's reign, and the beginning of that of Charles the Second, though avowedly fighting under their prince's banner, yet secretly in cabals, and sometimes openly in negotiations they absolutely acted against his interest, under the false notion of separately serving their own.---But in James the Second's time, he being a catholic prince, they were sincerely attached to his cause, for which they shewed their zeal, by more bravely and more firmly supporting him than

than ever they had done any English prince since the first conquest of their country. A want of discipline indeed, and an impatience of command, which had alway distinguished the Irish, when warring in their own country, sometimes marked their conduct in the course of these civil contentions; but their courage was generally unexceptionable, and there was no reason to complain of them till by their king's desertion they were reduced to such straits as made them declare they would find their resources in themselves, as has been already mentioned in this history.

While king James was alive, and the parliament he called together at Dublin had passed acts of forfeiture and attainder against those that opposed him, it was highly unjust to call those *Rebels* who only contended for a contested claim. Cox himself, the partial, bigotted Cox, owns that even those concerned in the Irish massacre, ought not to be called by such a name, if they could have produced king Charles's commission for what they did. "Robbers and murderers, he says, in such case they might be, but rebels they certainly were not."—But the greatest proof of all is the manner in which William himself behaved to them, who, while they were in arms against him, conducted the war much in the same manner as he would have done against a foreign enemy, and when they laid down those arms treated with them, not on terms of independence and equality. Certainly (as a modern writer observes) in the opinion of the most rigid protestants, even of William's party, some pity might also well be allowed due to men who had been exposed to forfeiture and death by the Irish parliament, unless they took part against king William, and by the English parliament if they did.

All

The proceedings in Ireland, in effect tend to prove, that of all hatred religious hatred is the most fierce and violent, and that the contested claims of princes are the worst, the most terrible evils that can befall a people; maxims which because we have seldom seen them duly regarded, can therefore never be too often inculcated; and which though the three kingdoms of the British empire have so often suffered by religious and by party zeal, seem yet often to be misunderstood or neglected.

With all these disadvantages, however, William kept the royalty he had obtained, found the means by art to establish what force could not effect, and the city of Limerick being surrendered upon the articles already mentioned and the Irish war by that means ended, he at last became master of the three kingdoms; a circumstance which forms a remarkable æra in the course of the Irish history.

THE END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.



---

T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F  
I R E L A N D.

---

BOOK THE SIXTH.

**B**EFORE I proceed to give a farther account of the state of affairs in Ireland, I shall mention the circumstances of the plot that was forming in England, which if it had succeeded must have served to deprive king William of all his three kingdoms at once, and restored the exiled prince to the possession of them.

The king of France becoming sensible of the great advantages he should reap by dethroning William, resolved now in earnest to keep the promise he had made to his royal guest of endeavouring to land him in England at the head of a large body of forces, in order that he might take advantage of the discontents that then prevailed in the nation.

James

James having written to some of the members of the privy council, and others, containing liberal offers, many persons of note were brought into a plan for restoring him; the officers of the army were discontented at the promotion of foreigners among them. The seamen, in general, retained an affection for their exiled king, who had been with them, and was always proud of distinguishing himself as their friend. The protestant Irish were dissatisfied with the treaty of Limerick, and complained that their advantage had not in many other instances been attended to; while the catholics were favoured, who loved James, and still secretly brooded over their losses, were yet ready to sacrifice every thing for his service, if ever an opportunity should offer. The Highlanders, and even many of the Lowland Scots were irritated beyond measure, at the part they well knew the king had in the murder of Glenco; and the people of all the three kingdoms complained aloud of heavy taxes and money profusely granted, and as extravagantly expended.

Amidst all these grievances, which the height of party prejudice or personal animosity exaggerated, James and the king of France found it no very difficult matter to tamper even with some of the greatest persons in William's court. So long before as the year sixteen hundred and ninety, the former had sent colonel Bulkely, who was married to the duke of Berwick's daughter, and colonel Sackville, who had been prosecuted for ridiculing the supposed popish plot, over into England, with proper instructions to find out how far those who had formerly served him now stood affected to his cause. Endeavouring first to work upon Godolphin, he found that nobleman very much upon the reserve:---applying himself next to Halifax, that lord desired him

to let Godolphin know his sentiments. Upon this it is said Godolphin professed his repentance of his connexions with the new king, and wrote to him accordingly, telling his majesty, he would resign his employment of first lord of the treasury. William in answer desired him not to do any thing so prejudicial to their mutual interests, and even this letter was shewn to Bulkely.— Sackville, on his part, tried to win over lord Marlborough, whose wife's sister was married to the lord Tyrconnel, and whose nephew was the duke of Berwick. This nobleman seems by a strange duplicity of conduct, to have made professions he never seriously thought on, and promised services he never meant to perform. Though he was the first person that gave king James's party in Ireland notice of William's design to go over thither, yet by an expedition against Cork and Kinsale, which was voluntarily undertaken, he acted as a desperate enemy to his former master's interest; while he ever expressed sentiments of great tenderness for that unhappy monarch, and always kept terms with his party. He now entered into engagements with Sackville, and even wrote to James, intreating a line from himself, and another from the queen, expressing their forgiveness of his offences; and James was likewise at this time, assured that the Princess Anne would be brought back to her duty by the Lady Marlborough, who had acquired a surprising ascendant over her. All he asked being granted, he still required more. He desired a power of promising pardons in the late king's name might be vested in him, alledging that the Lord Shrewsbury, and some others whom he named kept aloof, for want only of an assurance of being forgiven. This also being complied with, Shrewsbury professed his attachment to that Prince, while some others chose

Dalrymple.

to play a double part, or stand neuter and wait the event of things. The truth is, that at this time, in Great-Britain and in Ireland there were three distinct parties; the first of which was attached to king William, the second to King James, while the third, who were accounted by many the most rational of all, had not in reality so strong an attachment to the person of either of the Princes as they had to what they conceived was or ought to be the constitution of their country. Among these were many mentioned above, who now corresponded with their former master; not so much out of their love to him, or approbation of his government, as from a view of bringing an exiled monarch to grant concessions, which William, whatever he had professed, now seemed averse to yielding to, and to deliver the nation from the present enormous burden of taxes and the destructive prospect of a civil war in future.

Russel was followed by Admiral Carter in the offer of his services to James, though both these officers stood upon rigid conditions for the liberty of the subject, all which the dethroned monarch was obliged to assure them he would grant, though such assurances were often not delivered without great reluctance, insomuch that the King of France himself was obliged to interpose and observe to him "That if he once got possession of his throne again, he would yet be likely to meet with more complaisance from his subjects than he was to expect in his present situation." And the Princess Anne having met with very ill treatment from her sister was prevailed on to join the faction, whom it was expected the majority of the church would follow, who had been highly displeased at the establishment of Presbytery in Scotland, and the treatment of the non-juring bishops whom William had



in his anger deprived of their sees, and given them to favourites of his own.

The person who forwarded these negotiations in quality of agent to the mal-contents was Captain Lloyd, a rough, brave seaman strongly attached to James, and an ardent wisher of his restoration.--- In consequence of the communications of this agent the invasion of England was determined to be effected by a mighty power from France in the preceding spring; for which purpose in January the French began to equip two fleets, one at Brest under D'Étrée, the other at Toulon under M. de Tourville, both which were, when united, to be commanded by the latter officer. ---Twenty thousand land forces, half of which were Irish, were ordered down to the coast of Normandy, and all manner of suitable preparations were made for the intended expedition.

Nor were the friends of James in England and Scotland idle.---Lancashire was provided with eight regiments of horse and foot; two regiments of horse were ready in London, and many other parts of the kingdom were equally ripe for insurrection, though perhaps not equally provided with the means of it. The natives of the Scotch Highlands too well remembered the massacre of Glenco not to be in readiness to take the first opportunity of revenging the injuries done their country, and there were not wanting in other parts of that kingdom many staunch friends to the old government that were still willing to hazard their lives and fortunes for the re-establishment of their exiled master.

Ireland, which the enemies of William complained that instead of reforming after he had conquered, he had left a heap of ruins, was scarcely thought defensible by the Lords Justices;---they easily perceived the agitation of the minds of the people

people, when they beheld them running from place to place, taking journeys into distant provinces, and holding secret councils and cabals, all which seemed to indicate that they thought themselves upon the eve of some great event, and were devising how they should contrive to have a share in bringing it about. It was easy to imagine that their affections were not yet weaned from their old master, and this was sufficient to alarm their new one. However, as their country was not intended for the theatre of war, all they could do was to sit still for the present, and wait till some favourable turn might once more put it in their power to avow their old sentiments and connexions.

But to crown all his preparations, James (who had previously addressed a letter to the lords of council, inviting them and many ladies of distinction to St. Germain's, where the queen being with child, he wished them to attend her labour, in order to refute the scandal of her barrenness) now circulated a declaration calculated to induce his former subjects to declare in his favour. He therein told them, that by the help of his ally the king of France, he should make one effort more for the recovery of his crown, yet, notwithstanding the assistance which he was promised from that quarter, he did not mean to deprive his good subjects of contributing to his restoration and that of their ancient constitution. He gave them the strongest assurances, that his auxiliaries should be kept under the strictest discipline, and sent back to France, as soon as ever the end which they came for should be compassed. He said, that he had, at the first arrival of the prince of Orange in his territories, rather chosen to rely upon the aid of his own countrymen, than that of the foreign troops, that were so liberally offered him; that when he was in a condition to oppose force with force, he

had offered his subjects all reasonable satisfaction. —He observed, that when afterwards seeing himself betrayed and abandoned by his people, his army, his ministers and even his own family; when he had been driven out of his own palace, and compelled to take refuge in France, they had construed this his retreat for safety into a neighbouring country, as an abdication of his throne, and a convention illegally assembled, that had no right to alter the property, even of the meanest subject, had, on that pretence, contrived to destroy the fundamentals of the constitution. He added, that it was to be hoped the eyes of the nation were by this time opened, to the enormous expences they had lately incurred, a consideration of itself sufficient to evince, that the remedy was worse than the disease, wishing them also to consider, that even though the usurpation should endure for the term of his natural life, yet his title would survive in his offspring, and subject the nation to the calamity of a civil war. On these accounts he exhorted and commanded all his good subjects to repair to his standard, according, as he said, to the tenor of their oaths and bounden duty, by way of form, forbidding them to pay any taxes for the support of the usurper, at the same time promising a free pardon to all soldiers, as well as others, who would quit his service, engaging that they should be paid their arrears, and that the foreign troops upon laying down their arms, should be likewise paid and safely transported into their different countries. He protested, that he would maintain the church of England, as by law established, in all its rights, though he expressed his intention of using his influence with parliament for allowing liberty of conscience to all his subjects. Knowing the English to be jealous of their privileges of trade, James took care to observe, that he meant to restore their commerce

H  
com  
navi  
fully  
deav  
foot  
tribu  
And  
sion  
divin  
subje  
offer  
had f  
certai  
all th  
occasi  
It a  
promi  
indeed  
he ma  
deceiv  
people  
when  
from t  
had al  
disapp  
govern  
they w  
honour  
cumsta  
Willia  
arms of  
very fa  
lence o  
tion we  
tions we  
invaders  
the natio  
on pain



commerce by enforcing a due observation of the navigation act, which had been of late most shamefully violated, adding, that he would use his endeavours to put the navy upon a most respectable footing, and to do every thing else that might contribute to the happiness and grandeur of the nation. And after having made all these offers, in conclusion he declared himself entirely resigned to the divine will, on his part, whilst he reminded his subjects, that such of them as should refuse his offers and appear in arms against him, after he had so fully communicated his intentions, would certainly be answerable in the sight of heaven, for all the blood that might in future be shed upon the occasion.

It appears from many circumstances that James promised himself much from this declaration, and indeed had he been landed in England, at the time he made it, it is probable he would not have been deceived, for how much soever the parliament and people were inclined to slight his remonstrances when first he quitted his kingdom, it is evident from their demeanour afterwards, that the multitude had altered their minds, some because they were disappointed in their expectations of William's government, but a much greater number because they were so in his distribution of places and honours. But what was most peculiar in this circumstance was, that the whigs in general deserted William, who thereupon threw himself into the arms of the tories, and perhaps thought himself not very safe with either party. However by the vigilance of the ministry the effects of James's declaration were in a great measure prevented. Preparations were made in England for the reception of the invaders; orders were issued for all the seamen of the nation to offer themselves for the royal service, on pain of incurring punishment if they refused;  
h.c



the different squadrons of ships then abroad were ordered to return home. A certain number of vessels were destined to observe the enemy's motions, and to watch them in their ports and harbours. The old ships were repaired and new ones constructed, both in England and Holland, and the command of both which fleets was rested in admiral Russel, notwithstanding the suspicions that had arisen of his correspondence with James, the repeated warnings that had been given the court of the danger of entrusting such a power in his hands. The militia was raised all over England, and papists were commanded to remove themselves to the distance of ten miles from the capital, Scotland was amply provided for defence, and, in short, every thing was attended to that could secure Great-Britain; Ireland alone was neglected, most probably for the reason given by a modern author; namely, because it was deemed impossible to secure it.

*Dalrymple.*

While these things were going forward, the court of England, as if resolved to do every thing which might contribute to its own disadvantage was purchasing to itself enemies, at the dearest rate imaginable.—Not to mention the imprisonment of Marlborough, the grounds for which we have already related, and that of other noblemen, the prince's Anne, presumptive heir to the crown, who had waved her right of succession, in favour of her brother in law, had her guards taken from her, and was loaded with every disgrace that her sister durst, and more than in common prudence she ought to have ventured to cast upon her. Uneasinesses and heart-burnings were everywhere increased, and in short, the whole nation was in such a ferment, that had James once been landed in England at the head of his French allies, there is not much doubt but he might have been restored to the throne,

throne, while William was abroad spending the blood of his subjects in those wars in which their connexions with him could alone have engaged them.

But a variety of accidents effectually prevented James from ever making the experiment.—The English, highly alarmed, had made provisions in proportion to their danger, and three of their squadrons being joined by the Dutch fleet, all rendezvoused at St. Helen's, and soon found themselves in a condition to sail out and meet the enemy, who was then put out to sea, in quest of them.—It was on the nineteenth day of May, in the year sixteen hundred and ninety-two, that these two great armaments met. Tourville, whose force was inferior to the combined fleets in the proportion of fifty to ninety-nine, yet being resolved to exert every nerve on this decisive occasion, and having received positive orders to fight from his court, who were ignorant of his real situation, bore down with great boldness upon the enemy.—The two admirals ships meeting, a fierce engagement ensued, which lasted for an hour and a half, till at length, that of Tourville received so much damage as obliged her to be towed off, while several other large French ships closed in to favour the retreat. It was now that the English force first prevailed, it was now that the French admiral perceived the rashness of that conduct, which had urged him to commence an engagement he might have avoided, contrary to the opinion of his most experienced officers. Nevertheless the engagement continued all day, the French maintaining a running fight all the afternoon, and at night the English, Dutch and French fleets anchored close to each other off the coast of France; the next morning the latter having sustained a considerable damage, four ships being blown up, and many others having deserted them, fled

fled along their own shores, pursued by the English and Dutch. Tourville's ship and two others took refuge at Cherburg, eighteen others following their example near la Hague; and several more escaped through the race of Alderney. On the fifth day, Russel prepared to destroy such of the enemy's vessels as had run a ground, while the French, on the other hand, whose army was drawn up on shore, raised platforms mounted with artillery, and took every possible measure to defend them, excepting only that they did not follow a very good piece of advice, that king James, who was present gave them, which was to put a number of the regiments on board the vessels that were run on shore, an expedient that would have been the most likely of any to have preserved them from the fury of the English, who in the end, excited by a spirit of revenge, equal to their former fears and terrors, prevailed so far as to reduce the most of them to ashes.

The exiled king had the mortification to see them destroyed, and with them his best hopes of re-ascending the British throne. After this disappointment he retired to the monastery of La Trappe, and the English returned to their own country, where they were received with all the applause and rewards which the government thought justly belonged to all those who had any share in a victory of so much importance.

Notwithstanding this defeat it is true that several attempts were made to reinstate this family, both by their adherents at home and their friends abroad, but all proving abortive, the succession was firmly established, in the protestant line, upon revolution principles, as is well known to the generality of our readers.

It will doubtless be remarked here by many, that it was somewhat strange, that the admirals  
Russel



Russel and Carter, whom we have mentioned as corresponding with James, should contribute so much to the destruction of the fleet of his allies; and this, together with some other circumstances, has occasioned many historians to conclude that their transactions with the exiled monarch, were known to William and countenanced by him, with a view to get the more ready possession of the secret counsels of his rival. Yet, upon an examination of the matter, I do not find that there are proofs sufficient to authorise such a conclusion.

On the whole, perhaps Russel whose example was followed by Carter, joined the malecontents partly because he was dissatisfied with some parts of William's conduct, and partly because, as Dalrymple observes, he thought it likely that the nation might get better terms by effecting the restoration of an exiled monarch, than they could expect by supporting a prince already upon the throne. It is likewise added, that in the midst of his connexions with James, he repeatedly warned that unfortunate prince to prevent the English and French fleet from meeting in a hostile manner, declaring that if he encountered the armament of the enemy, he should hold it his duty to fire upon the first French ship, even though he should see king James upon the quarter deck; at the same time to shew the sincerity of his promises of favouring his cause, he made him two proposals, one of which was, to delay the purposed invasion, the other to accomplish it in his absence; on which account, the admiral absolutely asked leave of the English government to make a descent upon the coast of France, to shew that he was in earnest in his proposals,—But James either from motives of policy or from a principle of false shame, concealed these intimations of Russel from M. de Tourville, who  
knowing



knowing the admiral's correspondence with that prince, at the same time that he was ignorant of his utter aversion to his allies, missing of the French vessels which were charged with orders for him not to engage, boldly bore down upon the English fleet, imagining in all probability that the inferiority of his numbers might be outweighed by the chance he had of being favoured by the British admiral, and many of his captains. But Russel acting on the principles we have mentioned above, baffled all his designs, and with a fleet so superior to the enemy, obtained (as what could he else) an absolute victory.—The sword being thus drawn, he was obliged to throw away the scabbard;---and the compliments he received upon his conquest—compliments of all others the most flattering to an Englishman---fixed him for ever to the side of William, who perhaps, wisely enough overlooked his vast intended defection, when he considered how much he stood in need of his present friendship; and as to his countenancing the correspondence carried on with James, the proofs which time has brought to light, seem to indicate the contrary; for though this method of dealing was not at all unnatural to that artful monarch, yet the concern the court expressed, the number of persons they caused to be seized, the many precautions they took, and even the unconstitutional authority they exerted at this juncture, may well incline us to determine, there was much more carrying on, than they were privy to, though it is possible that after all was over they affected a mysterious knowledge of transactions they were really ignorant of—However these things were, it is certain, that the intended invasion filled all the lands with fears and anxieties, of which the court itself partook likewise. But as it has ever been the custom of the English to rise superior to past misfortunes, so when this storm was blown over

over, most of these fears were denied, every man persuading his neighbour and being willing to persuade himself that he was not frightened at all.— A circumstance among the rest, which may, in some measure, account for the confidence which some would have us believe the government expressed upon this occasion.

With this invasion expired every rational hope the Irish catholics could form to themselves of seeing their interest again established in that country.—They submitted therefore to a government they hated, and William found no more trouble with them during the rest of his reign.

On the sixteenth of September, in the year seven-  
teen hundred, king James died at St. Germaines---  
Since he had seen his attempts for the recovery of the throne of his ancestors defeated, he led a life of piety and peace. He generally diverted himself with hunting; but the serious part of his concern was devotion. He often repaired to the monastery of La Trappe and the monks of that austere order are said to have been much edified by his pious conversation. In his last sickness he conjured his son to prefer the consideration of religion even to that of a crown. He declared that he most sincerely forgave the prince of Orange and all his enemies. He expired with great tokens of resignation, and was buried, at his own request, without any funeral solemnity, in the church of the English Benedictines at Paris.---Thus died a prince who had by his own rashness and blind zeal lost a crown, which he was born to inherit, and which had he followed the dictates of sound policy and right reason, he might have worn unmolested till his death and resigned to his successor in peace ---instead of which he bequeathed to his descendants, the ruined remains of unsupported royalty, and to his people the dreadful consequences of a  
disputed

Death of K.  
James II.

disputed title, which hath more than once involved them in intestine broils and the miseries of civil war.—James while he sat upon the throne seems to have been, a prince of great obstinacy and severity, of still greater bigotry, and most strongly attached to the notion of kingly prerogative in its fullest extent, which notions he never attempted to conceal. He was not without his virtues, but these at such a time as he lived in, it was impossible for party rage to suffer to be distinguished. But when he was driven from his throne, when all his hopes were ruined, then only those good qualities which he possessed grew more apparent, and many others appeared which perhaps he never had exerted before. That personal courage indeed for which he had been remarked in his prosperity, was no longer to be discerned, but fortitude, constancy and piety, were found to succeed in its room; whereby he was perhaps made happier in his retirement than ever he had been upon a throne. In short, though James was a bad prince, if we consider him as reigning over a free people, he seems to have had the requisites for a good man, if we regard him only as in the private walk of life.

His rival did not long survive him, for on the twenty-first day of February succeeding, his constitution being much exhausted with fatigue, as he was riding from Hampton Court to Kensington, his horse fell under him, and he being violently thrown to the ground fractured his collar-bone, which fracture however was reduced by his surgeon, when he was conveyed to Hampton Court; but as he returned to Kensington in his coach, the two ends of the fractured bone were disjoined, which however were replaced by his physician.

On the fourth of March, William was so well recovered as to be able to walk in the gallery at Kensington. But sitting down on a  
couch



couch, he fell asleep, and was afterwards seized with a fever and diarrhæa. On the sixth, he was so weak that he could not write, and was obliged to apply a stamp to the bills brought for his assent, and two days afterwards he expired, in the fifty second year of his age, having survived his consort seven years, and being himself survived by his favourite the duke of Portland.

William was a prince of great coldness and reserve, a stranger to the warmer passions, and never animated but in the field—He was particularly attached to the interests of Holland, and was the first king that ever absolutely involved England in continental connexions—He projected the schemes of funding and thereby became the patron of stock jobbers.—He was generally thought to have sacrificed the point of delicacy and decorum to his desire of dominion, when he ascended without scruple the throne of his father-in-law, and accepted a crown to which the people at first never meant to invite him. On the whole, whatever were his good qualities, they were not of sufficient avail to render him easy as a king, nor his subjects collectively happy as a people.—In his reign, party animosities were carried to the most extravagant heights in Great-Britain and Ireland, and both nations were more than once on the brink of destruction. At his death he left them involved in fears and doubts, which the nature of the succession, however seemingly agreeable to all parties, was far from being sufficient to remove.

From this period our history will unavoidably fall short of that exactness which it has hitherto preserved, and must rather be considered as a summary of affairs, than a regular history, a circumstance of which we thought proper at present to apprise our readers, but which in some future edition may be altered.—The nature of this publica-

A a

tion



tion has, indeed been one cause of our thus falling off from our original design.—Another was the difficulty of collecting the authentic materials respecting the modern part of the history, within any reasonable time, which determined us, after long waiting for and being disappointed of some promised assistance, rather to pass over events than to relate them in an imperfect manner.—Some other circumstances have likewise concurred to abridge this undertaking, which as they were altogether unforeseen, could not by human prudence be prevented.—After this candid confession, therefore, hoping the indulgence of the reader in this particular, we shall proceed, in the best manner the time and circumstances will permit to the conclusion of this history.

A. D.  
1701.  
Anne.

ANNE, princess of Denmark, succeeded William the Third in the sovereignty, which was now, in many respects more limited, than it had ever been before, and yet was not entirely such as that party among the people who styled themselves whigs could have wished; nevertheless all parties seemed to rejoice at her succession, the whigs because they expected new concessions from a new sovereign, the Tories because they thought they might hope great things from a princess who was a favourer of monarchy, a professed defender of the church, and a daughter of king James the Second, unembarrassed by disagreeable connexions, and unenslaved to Dutch or German alliances;—while the more moderate drew their satisfaction from a more rational source; namely, that they anticipated in their minds the glories of a reign which yet stands almost unrivalled in the British annals.—Anne, therefore ascended the throne amidst the acclamations of her subjects, who were inclined to believe her, when she told them in a speech from the throne, That there was nothing  
which

which they could expect or desire from her, that she should not be ready to do for their prosperity.

In the year seventeen hundred and three, great discontents arose in Ireland, which were chiefly owing to the conduct of the trustees for the forfeited estates.—The duke of Ormond opened the parliament in the latter end of the month of September with a speech, in which he assured the members of his warm attachment to his native country. But when the speaker drew up their addresses to the queen and to his lordship, they complained that they had been misrepresented, as being desirous to render their country independant of England, to vindicate themselves from which aspersions, they declared that they held the kingdom of Ireland to be dependant on the English imperial crown.—And at the same time, to intimate their dislike of the trustees abovementioned, they resolved, that the protestant freeholders had been falsely and maliciously misrepresented and traduced in a book intituled, *The Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Irish forfeitures*, and it being found that Francis Annesley, together with John Trenchard, Henry Langford, and James Hamilton, were authors of that book, they farther resolved, That they had scandalously and maliciously misrepresented and traduced the protestant freeholders of that kingdom, and endeavoured to create misunderstanding and jealousy between the people of England and the protestants of Ireland. In consequence of this, Mr. Annesley was expelled the house;—as for Hamilton he was dead, and Trenchard retired to England. It was said that they had finished the enquiry before the meeting of parliament, and sold at an under value the best of the forfeited estates, to the Sword-Blade company of England, whose petition to be enabled to make conveyance of lands in Ireland was neglected by

the parliament, and John Aſgil their agent, being a member, was expelled, who had offered to lend money on the public credit, on the condition of obtaining an act to confirm and validate the company's purchase. The Irish parliament afterwards proceeded, in a state of the grievances of the nation, to observe to her majesty that the constitution of Ireland had of late been greatly shaken, and that their lives, liberties, and properties had been called in question, and tried in a manner unknown to their ancestors, asserting at the same time, that the expence to which they had been unnecessarily exposed by the trustees for forfeited estates, had exceeded in value the current cash of the kingdom, that their trade was decayed, their money exhausted, and that they were hindered from maintaining their own manufactures;---to all which circumstances they added a detail of other grievances from which they prayed relief, and afterwards voted the necessary supplies, besides a sum of money to make good former deficiencies. Nevertheless they contrived to make a strict scrutiny into many abuses supposed to be committed in that kingdom, and, among the rest, are said to have discovered a false charge of one hundred thousand pounds, as a debt upon the public---then they voted a provision for half-pay officers, and abolished as many pensions as amounted to above sixteen thousand pounds a year---they passed an act for settling the succession to the crown as in England, and a most severe one against papists, resembling that which was enacted in their sister country, but still more rigid in its tenor. By this act it was ordained among other things, That all estates of papists should be equally divided amongst the children, notwithstanding any settlement to the contrary, unless the persons to whom they were otherwise devised, would qualify themselves by taking the



the oaths and coming over to the church of England. But to the English court, who were regardless of the spirit of treaties, this bill was by no means agreeable. However, considering the repeated clamours which had been raised against the catholics, in both nations, they did not think proper to reject it, but sent it back, clogged with an addition, which they supposed, the parliament of Ireland would never consent to.—It was, That no person in that kingdom, should be deemed capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy of any city, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the sacrament according to the test-act passed in England. Even this the Irish parliament sacrificed (though professedly affecting the dissenters) rather than not humble the papists.—So that the amendment was received without scruple, and the bill passed into a law.

After this, the Irish parliament proceeded to vote, That a work, intituled, “Memoirs of the late king James the Second,” was a seditious libel; ordering it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, and the bookseller and printer to be prosecuted. A member then informed the house, that certain disorderly catholics had assembled themselves together, and plundered some protestants in the county of Limerick; upon which they immediately voted in a sudden fit of zeal, “That the papists of that kingdom, still retained hopes of the accession of the person known by the name and title of the Prince of Wales, in the lifetime of the late king James, and now by that of James the Third.”—And they were thus proceeding, when they were stopped in the midst of their career, and adjourned by the lord lieutenant, against whom they all severely inveighed for taking such a healing measure.



Indeed it seems apparent, that however blameable the catholics had formerly been for their disobedience and disorderly behaviour, yet there were times when a little less severity might have prevented them from such rashness, and a seasonable shew of indulgence, though unimportant in itself, might have prevented many evils.—It is well known, many Irish catholics have allowed, that they believed William, tho' their great enemy, was really disposed to fulfil the articles of the treaty of Limerick.—The same catholics have likewise looked on every restriction, since laid upon them, infractions of that treaty which they supposed the government of England bound to observe; and as an invasion of their rights and liberties, even such as now were allowed by their conquerors. And hence have arisen many heart-burnings, and animosities, and sometimes even insurrections among the *vulgar*.—These people who are fierce, untractable, and devoid of the benefits of education, cannot dive into the secrets of cabinets, nor comprehend the policy of nations.—They cannot conceive a reason why they should lie under restrictions from government for following the worship of their forefathers, and adhering to a church, which they have been taught to think infallible.—They cannot conceive, why in times of full peace, such restrictions should be multiplied.—Insensible of the benefit their country has received from the plantation of English and Scotch among them; when they saw these daily arriving, they considered them as interlopers.—Their manufactures could not be esteemed by such as admire a life of indolence; nor their schools by those who delight not in education.—When they are told of the polite arts, they reply, they need them not farther than they have them; and even when they survey government in all it's splendor, they only shake their

their heads, and observe, that all this is nothing to the grandeur of their monarchs courts at Tarah.— This being the nature of the lower class of the original Irish, most of whom are yet catholics; what can be expected, but that they should run immediately after the first priest, or person of any credit among them, who can tell them with the least shew of probability, that their religion and their liberty are in danger.—And how seldom is it that there are wanting some such to influence the minds of the ignorant vulgar, and to lead them astray from their duty.—Yet it must be owned, that these, and these only, have of late times been found thus to transgress; and that not in reality in such a manner as to affect the public peace and safety of the kingdom, a circumstance, which perhaps might at times like these we are mentioning, be properly urged to induce government to shew some lenity to *unoffending* catholics.

But the posture of affairs in England was such, that the queen, being as it were besieged by different parties, would of herself do little; and had not much inclination to produce matter of controversy for her parliament, where disputes ran already but too high, and where the whigs and Tories were in many respects busied in exposing each others knaveries and follies for the real benefit of the nation.

Nor was the attention of the English government less taken up with the measures they should pursue, in regard to those ruinous continental measures in which William had involved them, and which queen Anne, seeing the hearts of the people now set upon, had been in earnest to continue. Though it were endless to recount the blood and treasure expended upon these wars and alliances; yet it must be owned, that never prince carried them on with more judgement, glory, and success

as Anne did, considering the vast strength of France at that time, and the temper of the other powers whom she had to deal with; yet nothing is more true, than that England has often suffered more by her reputed friends than by her enemies: and this too might have been the case in the reign of that princess, had she not known how to act, and when covered with the laurels of victory, listened to the voice of moderation.

The care of the English court was at this time likewise taken up by the affairs of their ally, the emperor of Germany; whose son, the archduke, Charles, had taken upon him the title of King of Spain, and now was to demand in marriage, the Infanta of Portugal, and then attempt something of consequence with the maritime powers. ---Accordingly a secretary was sent in form, to the king of Portugal, and the court of Vienna promised to send a large force to drive back the elector of Bavaria, who was now advancing on the wings of victory; but this matter was not so easily effected as planned; Savoy suffered much by his arms, till he was at last obliged to retire before the victorious arms of the duke of Marlborough. ---The events of the war, in the end, turned out in favour of England and her allies; and a peace was at last concluded at Utrecht, greatly to the dissatisfaction of the whigs in general, and the duke of Marlborough in particular, who would have found his account in the continuance of the war.

The trial of Sacheverel; the attempt upon the life of Mr. Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford, with the many jealousies of contending lords, sufficiently worked the temper of the people of England in this reign. ---In the mean time, Doctor Jonathan Swift rose into great consideration in Ireland, and at length became the chief patron of the Irish nation.

On



On the first day of August, in the year seventeen hundred and fourteen, died Anne, Queen of England, in whose time, England and Scotland were united; a princess possessed of many private virtues, and whose reign was marked by a succession of as glorious events as ever distinguished the annals of this country.—She was mild, merciful, and unambitious.—During great part of the reign of William, she was divided between her affection for her father, king James, and her regard for the established constitution; but when she became a queen, she lived only for her people, whom she loved with a parental affection.—Yet with these virtues, she was not without her defects; for she sometimes shewed, that her heart was better than her head.—She was too much attached to favouritism.—The duchess, then countess of Marlborough, swayed her during the beginning, and another female, Mrs. Masham, towards the end of her reign.—By one or other of these, the operations of the cabinet were generally directed; and in proportion to the queen's attachment to either of them, the interest of whigs or tories, high-church or low-church preponderated.—It is a maxim, that certainly can never be too often inculcated, that princes should have no favourites; how happy were it for their people, if they could have no ministers; but that is a felicity too great for their people to experience!—To conclude, taking both her virtues and her weaknesses into the account, the former so much exceeded the latter, that Anne, might with justice be said to be a tender consort, a sincere friend, and a good and merciful queen.—Notwithstanding all which, her subjects, (that is, the great among them) were employed during her last sickness, almost before her face, in making preparations to receive her successor, and the heralds kept in waiting to proclaim



claim him.—She underwent great mortification before her death, which she bore with christian patience, and expiring, left all things in a state of confusion in Great Britain.

A. D.  
1714.  
George I.

George, who had been previously proclaimed by the style and title of George the first, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, left his German dominions on the thirty-first day of August, in the year seventeen hundred and fourteen, and proceeded by the way of the Hague on his route to England, and embarking at Orange-Polder, under convoy of an English and Dutch squadron, commanded by the Earl of Berkley, arrived at the Hope, on the seventeenth day of September, bringing the prince with him.----In the afternoon of that day the yacht sailed up the river, and they were landed about six in the evening, at Greenwich, where he was received by the lords of the regency, the duke of Northumberland, and part of the life-guards. From the landing-place, he walked to his house in the park, and at night, sent for those noblemen who were his favourites; the duke of Ormond, lord Trevor, and the chancellor, were not invited; but the next morning, Oxford presented himself, but was very coldly received;---so early did this prince begin to shew his partiality to the whigs, and by his subsequent proceedings, the last mentioned earl being tried for his life, the duke of Ormond, and Bolingbroke obliged to fly, and the bishop of Rochester banished; the tories were at length so much exasperated, as to raise a rebellion under the conduct of the earl of Mar in Scotland, and of the earl of Derwentwater and one Mr. Foster in England, who actually proclaimed the pretender.----The first was surrounded and taken by surprize at Preston, and the latter was encountered by the duke of Argyle at Dumblain, where however he stood fair for victory, which he would probable have obtained, had not his troops  
been

A. D.  
1715.

been too eager in the pursuit of that part of the royal army which they had broken; but on this account it proved a drawn battle, and the Highlanders seeing no likelihood of coming again to action, soon after dispersed and returned to their own habitations.--Yet the chevalier St. George afterwards came over into Scotland, from whence he was driven back by the duke of Argyle, and at last made his escape to the continent in a small French vessel, accompanied by the earl of Mar, and many others of his party. In the mean time, the gaols in England were filled with such of his adherents as had been apprehended.----The earls of Derwentwater, Kenmure and Wintoun, were beheaded on Tower-hill, and many of inferior note were hanged at Tyburn. But the earl of Nithsdale, who had joined Mar, escaped disguised in female apparel; and Foster, Mackintosh, and others, broke out of Newgate at different times, and saved themselves by flight from a disgraceful death.

—All this time we hear of no rebellion in Ireland.—But the Irish parliament having met in November this year, seemed warmly attached to the established government.—They recognised the title of king George, passed bills for the security of his government, for setting a price upon the head of the chevalier St. George, and for attainting the duke of Ormond. Their hearts overflowing with zeal, they desired a proclamation might be issued against the catholics of Limerick and Galway; who on account of the treaty of Limerick, claimed exception from the penalties imposed upon others of their religion.----And having engaged in an association against the pretender to the throne, and all his abettors, they next proceeded to vote the earl of Anglesea an enemy to the king and kingdom, for having advised the late queen to break  
the

the army, and to prorogue the parliament; and they farther addressed his majesty, to remove that nobleman from his services and councils:----while the lords justices, in order to recommend themselves to the king, granted orders for apprehending the earls of Antrim and Westmeath, and the lords Netterville, Cahir, and Dillon, as persons suspected of being disaffected to his majesty's government. Yet one would think there was the less occasion for a severity of this kind, when, though Great Britain was embroiled, Ireland actually enjoyed peace and tranquility.----But this was a time when the spirit of party raged high, and when mens minds were full of fears and jealousies; when a beloved sovereign was gone down to the grave, and the crown tottered upon the head of her successor;----if these considerations are not sufficient to account for some of the transactions of the reign we are treating of: it is perhaps impossible for any historian to account for them at all.

In the year seventeen hundred and nineteen, the attention of the British parliament was taken up by a bill for securing the dependancy of Ireland upon the imperial crown of Great Britain.---It seems, that Morrice Annesley had appealed to the house of peers in England, from a decree of the house of peers in Ireland, which was reversed, and the British house of lords ordered the barons of the Exchequer in Ireland, to put Mr. Annesley in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom. The barons obeyed this order, but the Irish lords voted, that they had acted in a manner derogatory to the king's prerogative in his high court of parliament in Ireland, and to the rights and privileges of that kingdom and its parliament.—They even committed them to the custody of the black-rod; and then transmitted a complaint



plaint to the king, asserting their right to the final judicature of all matters that were brought before them. And their cause was supported by the duke of Leeds in the house of peers in England. The British lords however resolved, That the barons of the Exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage, and according to law, in support of his majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain; and addressed his majesty to reward them by distinguishing them with some mark of his royal favour. At length the bill was prepared by which they deprived the Irish house of all right to pass sentence, affirm, or reverse any judgement, or decree, given in any court within that kingdom. —And though the motion was opposed by Mr. Pitt, and others, yet the majority was for it, and it received the royal assent, and was passed into a law, which however was deemed a great nuisance by the peers of Ireland.

King George the First, after a reign of near thirty years, was seized with a paralytic disorder (as he was on a journey to visit his electoral dominions of which he expired on Sunday the eleventh day of June, in the year seventeen hundred and twenty-seven, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. He was commonly esteemed a good general and a wise prince; however it should seem that he would have had a more just right to the latter appellation, if he had not sided with a particular party among his subjects, and treated another with such severity as caused him many troubles, and was the occasion of this reign's being marked by some scenes of bloodshed, which were unknown to that of queen Anne. Nevertheless it is probable, that the three kingdoms might have been happy under the government of this prince, if they had not been involved in public strife, and given up to party animosity.

George



A. D.  
1727.  
George II.

George, prince of Wales, afterwards proclaimed by the style and title of George the Second, was at Richmond, when on the fourteenth day of June, an express arrived, notifying the death of his late majesty, on which the prince repaired from thence to Leicester-house, and the members of the privy council were assembled and sworn afresh.—The new King then declared his purpose to preserve the constitution in church and state, and took and subscribed the oath for the security of the church of Scotland, as required by the act of union; and the succeeding day his majesty was proclaimed with the usual ceremonies, being then in the forty-fourth year of his age.

In the beginning of George the Second's reign, Ireland was generally esteemed peculiarly happy under the government of lord Carteret.—The Irish parliament meeting in the month of September, in seventeen hundred and twenty-nine, established certain funds for the discharge of the national debt, and for supporting the expences of the civil government.—They made several useful ordinances respecting agriculture, trade, and commerce, and established many other wise and patriotic regulations, under the auspices of this nobleman, who some time after the close of this session returned to England, having justly merited the applause of every good subject in his majesty's dominions, and possessing in himself that which exceeds all applauses, the testimony of a good conscience, which bore witness to the faithful discharge of his duty to his king and country.

So much is it possible for a good administration of government to make any people happy, to restrain the most artful, to soothe the most violent, and to leave their own wisdom and virtue upon record to posterity!—Ireland has often been branded as the daughter of discontent. While the principal

principal power of that kingdom was lodged in the hands of catholics, she sometimes proved herself so; but since the revolution and the succession of the Brunswick line to the throne, the case has been altered, and the Irish have but too frequently had just grounds for their complaints.—That it is not impossible to gain their good-will, and at the same time to serve the crown faithfully; the administration of lord Carteret, which we have here mentioned, furnishes one instance; if any one would seek for another, and a greater instance, let him only advert to the happy administration of the present illustrious duke of Northumberland, who was so successful in gaining the hearts of the whole people of Ireland, and at the same time so effectually served his sovereign.—

This reign is likewise remarkable for the well-known rebellion in the year seventeen hundred and forty-five, when Charles Edward Stuart, son of the chevalier St. George, at the instigation of the French, though but ill supported by them, landed in the North of Scotland, and with a few troops of raw Highlanders, ill armed, and ill provided, twice defeated the royal armies, and struck an universal panic through the nation, till at length he was totally defeated on Culloden Moor, with great slaughter, by the duke of Cumberland, on the sixth day of April, in the following year; after which action, the duke marched into the Highlands, where great excesses were committed by his soldiers, among the poor defenceless natives, while in England, the gaols were filled (as they had been in the first rebellion) with the deluded partizans of the house of Stuart, for whose cause the lords Kilmarnock, Balmeriano, and the fickle Lovat, suffered decapitation; but the earl of Cromartie, got such effectual intercession made for him with majesty, that he was pardoned and lived to a good old

old age, dying but lately in full peace, at his house in London. As for the prince adventurer, though a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head, and though he was obliged to trust to the fidelity of many poor and wretched highlanders, yet he was never betrayed, but after suffering almost inevitable hardships, escaped from Scotland on board a privateer of St. Malos's; and after having been chased by two English ships, arrived at last in safety at Rascau, near Morlaix in Brittany.----But in this rebellion, as in the former one it does not appear, that the Irish had any farther share than that of some few natives of that country being concerned in it merely as individuals who wished well to the cause of this extraordinary adventurer.

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle at length put an end to that war, which had first nursed this insurrection, and with the war expired the hopes of the pretender to the crown of Great Britain; for after this treaty was concluded, the King of France having promised that Charles Edward Stuart should leave his dominions, he not obeying, was seized by a guard of French soldiers, by whom he was detained in confinement till he complied with the ordinance; and thus tranquility was restored to the British empire, and peace flourished all over Europe.

A. D.  
1759.

But as England and France seldom remain many years together in amity with each other, so a fresh war breaking out, the old schemes of invasion intended were renewed by the French monarch, and now Ireland was supposed to be the object which he had in view. On which account the Irish parliament assembled at Dublin, received a message from the duke of Bedford, then lord lieutenant, acquainting them with the danger which was to be apprehended, as signified in a letter from the secretary of state, observing, that if a body of eigh-  
teen

H  
teen  
at V  
squ  
and  
parl  
king  
vigo  
actu  
the  
the p  
with  
the  
neigh  
place  
from  
adop  
dress  
wealth  
for th  
Bu  
lies a  
tion w  
nistrat  
lace o  
an un  
mitted  
house  
for the  
most  
Then  
they n  
Britain  
many  
coache  
one ge  
the enr  
was dr  
night t



teen thousand men, then assembled under Aiguillon, at Vennes, could find means to elude the British squadron, Ireland would doubtless be visited; and soliciting on this occasion the zeal of the Irish parliament, and of all protestant subjects of that kingdom, in order to make preparations for a vigorous reception of the enemy, if they should actually make such an attempt.----In the midst of the apprehensions of this visit from the French, the protestants in most parts of Ireland were struck with fear and consternation: a run was made upon the bank, and almost every man suspected his neighbour.----Yet had the threatened invasion taken place, it appears, that the catholics were so far from thinking of joining the French, that they adopted far other sentiments, presented loyal addresses to the lord lieutenant; and some of the wealthier sort even offered to lend sums of money for the service of the public.

But whatever were the sentiments of the catholics as a body, it is certain that the whole Irish nation were far from being satisfied with the administration of the duke of Bedford. The populace of Dublin, rising on this account, and fearing an union with England would be effected, committed several outrages.----They broke into the house of lords, insulted the peers, and searched for the journals, which had they found, they would most certainly have committed to the flames.----Then they made the members take an oath, that they never would suffer an union between Great Britain and Ireland to take place.----In this riot, many other excesses were committed, divers coaches were destroyed, and a gibbet erected for one gentleman, who narrowly escaped the fury of the enraged multitude.---A body of horse and foot was drawn out to suppress these rioters; but at night they dispersed of themselves; and the next



day addresses from both houses were sent to the lord lieutenant upon the occasion.

On the twenty-fifth day of October, in the year seventeen hundred and sixty, died, at his palace at Kensington, George the second, king of Great Great Britain, without any seeming previous disorder. Having as usual, drank his chocolate, he enquired about the wind, he opened a window, and finding the weather to be serene, said he would take a turn in the garden; but within a few minutes fell down, and expired before the attendants who came to his assistance could bring his daughter, the princess Amelia, to his presence.

George the second was a prince of a general good disposition, but of a very hasty and passionate temper. He was warlike, and fond of military parade. In his system of foreign politics he was too much attached to Hanover, and too much wedded to German connexions; in his scheme of parties at home, he was prejudiced in favour of the whigs. Though he did not seem at all to aim at arbitrary power, yet the opposite party could never forget that an increased standing army, a licencer of the stage, and some other innovations, as they deemed them, of the constitution were introduced in his reign; nor could they ever forgive him, for what they called, his harsh treatment of his son Frederick, prince of Wales, who was one of the most patriotic princes that ever did honour to this country.---Nevertheless, in the general opinion, George the second was not a bad prince.---He was certainly a good man, and if there is such a thing as believing appearances, he died lamented by his subjects, both of Great Britain and Ireland.

AND

AND at this period, I shall close this history, which nothing but a misunderstanding, owing to the publisher, could ever have occasioned a promise of bringing down to the *present time*, than which nothing ever was further from the author's original intention.—But before I conclude, I cannot help taking notice, that from the marriage of Richard Strongbow, the conqueror of Ireland, with the princess Eva, daughter of Dermot the last king of Leinster, are descended several of the noble families of England : but none more clearly and indisputable than the present Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, whose genealogy I shall beg leave here to subjoin, as a specimen of such descents : and I the rather select that of these noble personages, as they have in a peculiar manner endeared themselves to the Irish nation, who still remember with respect and gratitude, the upright and disinterested administration, the generosity, and magnificence, which distinguished the lieutenancy of my lord Northumberland; and with whom the engaging condescension and exalted qualities of his illustrious consort, have left a deep and lasting impression.

It will be seen in the following table, that the Duke and Duchess, now so happily united, are each separately descended from the ancient kings of Ireland, as well as from the old British princes of Wales, and that by the same channel, they are also lineally sprung from the royal family of England, &c. This remarkable coincidence, I could not help pointing out to the reader.

I hope their Graces will pardon the liberty I have taken to insert their genealogy in this slight work; which, though done without their consent or knowledge, proceeds from the deepest and most unfeigned respect.

Having thus brought the work down to the accession of his present majesty, I shall leave the annals of his reign to some future time to illustrate, content with having proceeded in what I have executed with as much caution and impartiality as I was able, wishing to see the same example followed, in that respect, at all times by every professed writer of ancient or modern history.

F I N I S.



H

A  
in I  
Answ  
the  
Answ

Baron,  
Bishops  
Berkley

Charles  
Catholi  
Confede  
Carrick  
the sw  
Charles

Catholic

# I N D E X

## TO THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

### A.

	Page
<b>A</b> NSWER of the parliament to the request of King Charles, to go in person to subdue the rebellion in Ireland	89
Answers of the supreme council to the prepositions of the Waterfordean congregation	136
Answer of the commissioners to the Marquis of Ormond	212

### B.

Baron, his embassy	149
Bishops (address of) to the Lord Lieutenant	195
Berkley (Lord) sworn Lord Lieutenant	264

### C.

Charles I. his reign	25
Catholic Faction, conspiracy of	49
Confederate Catholics petition	80
Carrickdrumrusk taken by Roe, and the garrison put to the sword	161
Charles I. proclaim'd	25
—— his death	168
—— his character	169
Catholics (distress of) during the inter-regnum	252

Charles



# I N D E X.

	Page
Charles II. death and character of	273
Clarendon (Earl of) appointed Lord Lientenant of Ireland	275
Clanrickard (Marquis of) appointed Deputy	240
Confederates, the oath of	61
Charles I. his reply to the parliament of Ireland	93
Cromwell (Richard) nominated protector	249
Confederates, the supreme council of	88
Carrickfergus, siege of	263
D.	
Dundalk taken	67
Dublin blockaded by the Duke of Ormond	176
Declaration of the bishops convened at Limerick	183
E.	
Excommunication issued by the Pope's Nuncio	158
F.	
Fermes (Bishop of) his letter	222
G.	
Galway, Limerick, Roscommon, and James Town, surrender to the parliament's army	246
H.	
Hamilton (Duke of) and Sir Marmaduke Longdale, de- feated by Cromwell	164
High Courts of Justice erected by the parliament in Ireland	247
I.	
James I. death of	25
Inchiquin (Earl of) treats with the Catholics	158
James the first's curious speech to the recusant party of the Irish parliament	9
Jones gives battle to Preston the head of the confederates, and obtains a victory	156
Ireland totally subdued by the parliament's army	247
Instructions given to Lord Berkley as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	264
James II. proclaimed in Ireland	274
K.	
Knorknaclastoy, battle of	242

Lorain

# I N D E X.

## L.

	Page
Lorain (Duke of) agreement between him and the people of Ireland	224
_____ his treaty disapproved by Charles II.	238
_____ proposes terms and offers his assistance to the Lord Deputy to oppose the puritan army in Ireland	221
Londonderry, dreadful siege of	292
Lord Deputy's answer to the Duke of Lorain	231
Limerick besieged by Ireton	240

## M.

Monmouth (Duke of) raises an insurrection	278
Massacre of the Protestants in Ireland	56

## O

Ormond (Marquis of) his character	213
Ormond (Duke of) makes stipulations with the Mayor of Limerick	187
Ormond (Marquis of) his letter to Gen. Preston	142
_____ his letter to the commissioners of trust	198
Owen Roe's victory of Bembury	133
Oliver Cromwell's death	249
O'Neal (Sir Phelim) proclaimed	62
_____ and others, tried and executed as principals in the Irish massacre	248
Ormond (Marquis of) treaty between and the confederate Catholics	110
_____ Lord Lieutenant leaves Ireland, and deposes the Marquis of Clanrickard in his stead	212

## P

Preston (general) his extraordinary letter to the Marquis of Ormond	141
Pale (the Lords of) join with Lord Gormanstown and the Catholic Lords of the county of Meath	59
Propositions offered to the English Parliament	72
Private government of the confederates	85
Parliament (the) vote that James I. had abdicated the crown	282
Recognition	

# I N D E X.

## R

	Page
Recognition, acts of	17
Ruper (Prince) arrives at Kinsale	172
Rinuccini (the Pope's Nuncio) arrives at Kilkenny	131
----- he summonses the Irish clergy to meet at Waterford	134
----- retires to Rome by the command of the ge- neral assembly	173

## S

Strafford (Earl of) Articles of impeachment against	36
Settlement, bill of	260
Summons of the Lords Justice to the confederates	60
Scots (the) arrive at Ulster	84
Six Bishops sent to the Tower by the order of James II.	279

## T

Tredagh stormed by Cromwell	180
----- siege of	63

## U

Votes of the English Parliament for the service of Ireland	51
--	----

## W

Wexford taken by Cromwell	181
Waterford (congregation of) their declarations	135
----- surrendered by General Preston to Treton	217

